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ABSTRACT
In May 1968, 10 leaders of Southwestern minority groups--Amerindians, Blacks, and Spanish-speaking--gathered to share their educational problems and discuss collective solutions. From their thoughts on assimilation and integration, on living conditions, curriculum, local school board control, and teacher education, two ambivalences emerged: 1) While the child should be educated to make a living in the modern world, he should also remain within the ethnic cultural fold. 2) While minority groups resent not having political power, some still fear formally organized political action groups. Remedies for these ambivalences and for the inferior education offered to non-Anglo children may lie in a pluralistic (rather than "melting pot") approach to culture in the schools, in different educational goals for non-Anglos, and most importantly--because each tribe and minority group is unique--in local ethnic control. (Appended are a 54-item bibliography and brief biographies on the participating groups: American G.I. Forum, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Council on Spanish American Work, Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs, League of United Latin American Citizens, NAACP, Navajo Amerindians, and Pueblo Amerindians. ED 024 653 is a related document.) (LP)

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ETHNICS ON EDUCATION:
REPORT ON A CONFERENCE OF SPANISH-SPEAKING, AMERINDIAN, AND NEGRO CULTURAL LEADERS ON SOUTHWESTERN TEACHING AND LEARNING

Edited by Henry G. Burger, Ph.D

Publication No. 3-0469

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Acknowledgements

Glossary of Terms

Conference Participants

Chapter I. THE BACKGROUND 1

Chapter II. COMMENTS BY THE CONFEREES 5

Chapter III. DISCUSSION 23

Chapter IV. SUMMARY 26

Appendix I. Amount of Schooling by Ethnicity 27

Appendix II. Structural Underlier of Ethnic Education 28

Appendix III. Selection Procedures 30

Appendix IV. Biographies of Organizations and Participants 32

Appendix V. Background Music for the Conference 35

Bibliography 36

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A conference is a group effort; hence there are many persons and organizations to be thanked. First, obviously, are the conferees and the organizations that selected them. Then there are the organizations and scholars who encouraged us before and after the meeting. A large number of scholars permitted us to utilize their findings and suggestions; most of their names appear in References Cited.

Thanks are due the entire SWCEL staff and especially to our former director Dr. Paul V. Petty, former program director Dr. Stanley Caplan, the present director, Dr. James L. Olivero, and present deputy director, Dr. Paul G. Liberty, Jr.

We would also like to single out the then-administrative assistant/communications specialist David Smoker, who spent long hours in making arrangements; Willard P. Bass, Dr. Richard Thiel, Ida Carrillo and Silvia Armijo, who worked on interior decorations; SWCEL Media Laboratory director Guy Watson, who recorded the conference and selected the ethnic music noted in Appendix V; Judy Hill, who coordinated the recording with script identification, and Del Sanchez, who photographed the proceedings.

Assisting with the editing of the original tape recording were coordinator of the secretarial pool, Mrs. Sylvia Saul, and Helen Kuiken, who abridged the proceedings.

Journalistic and public relations aid were provided by the SWCEL Information Department (Judy Turner and director Ron Hamm).

The Raza art on the cover, which might be titled "My Teacher," is by JoAnn Martinez, a pupil in the third grade class at Riverview Elementary School, Albuquerque. The original may be seen in fuller color at the SWCEL offices.

Thanks are due for information about La Raza cultural organizations to two informants who wish to remain anonymous.

Readers' Note: Chapter II, "Comments by the Conferees," represents the edited and rearranged comments of the conferees themselves. All other material in this publication is by the editor.

H. G. B.

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Agency: The U.S. Government Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs.
Amerindian: Aboriginal inhabitant of the Americas, usually considered as including Eskimos.
Anglo: A Yankee, especially in the Southwestern United States.
BIA: Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior.
CER: Concentrated Employment Program, Phoenix, Arizona and elsewhere.
Chairman: Prof. Edward P. Dozier.
Cherokee: The Cherokee Nation.
Chicano: According to Edward Dozier, slightly slang term referring more to the Southern Mexican American than to the Northern Hispanic living in the Southwest.
COSAW: The Council on Spanish American Work.
Culture: In a general sense, culture is the ways of living of a group, transmitted between generations. To the anthropologist, culture involves concepts, not mere immediacies; historical distinctions, not mere universals; repetition, not merely single occurrence; and sociality, not mere individualism.
Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965: U. S. Public Law 89-10, whose "Title I" compensates schools for their proportion of poverty families. Title IV organizes Research and Development Centers at universities to do basic elementary educational research, and also organizes educational laboratories (such as SWCEL) to "package" findings of such groups and others. Title III establishes Service Centers to introduce into specific schools innovations of Laboratories and similar groups; etc.
El Paso Conference: Reported in U. S. A., Inter-Agency Committee (1967).
ERIC: U. S. Office of Education's Educational Resources Information Center, whose Document Reproduction Service is located at 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, MD 20014.
Ethnic Group or Ethnicity: A community having racial, linguistic, and/or cultural ties rather distinct from its neighbors. Every human belongs to some ethnic group, but commonly the term means "minority in a multicultural situation."
GPO: U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC.
HEW: U. S. Government Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (one of whose units is the Office of Education).
Hispanic: Here equivalent to the Spanish American, relatively older innabitants especially of the Northern half of the Southwest, who claims descent from, or intermarriage with, the early Spaniards.
IAC-MAA: Agency
Indian: In this conference, Amerindian.
Johnson-O'Malley: A law (1934, amended as 48 Stat. 596) providing for U.S. Department of the Interior to supplement state funds for books, teachers and services in proportion to the number of Amerindian students (Smith 1968:13-15).
LULAC: The League of United Latin American Citizens.
LULAC-(Local): The Albuquerque division of League of United Latin American Citizens.
Mexican Americans: (1) Relatively recent immigrants from Mexico and/or their children, especially in the southern half of Southwestern U.S. or (2) Item (1) plus "Spanish Americans" plus migrants who speak Spanish.
NAACP: The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.
Navajo: Largest Amerindian tribe in U. S.; also spelled Navaho.
OEO: Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of the President, U. S. Government.
Petty: See Acknowledgments.
Pueblo: All Indian Pueblo Council.
Raza, La (literally, "the race"): Spanish speakers/Spanish surnames, including both (northern) Hispanics, (southern) Mexican Americans, but not necessarily the Cubans, Puerto Ricans and Filipinos in the U.S.
References Cited: Several times throughout this report, a speaker or the editor's name is followed by parentheses to cite a publication in which the reader may find fuller details. The interpretation of such citations is explained in the "References Cited" chapter appearing just before the index in this report.
Rough Rock: Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Ariz. 86503, funded by BIA and OEO and operated by Dine, Inc., a Navajo organization.
SER, Operation: Service Employment and Redevelopment, a project of OEO.
Smoker: See Acknowledgments.
Southwest (where not otherwise defined): New Mexico, Arizona, Oklahoma and West Texas, the primary area served by SWCEL.
Spanish Americans: Approximately the same as "Hispanic."
SWCEL: Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory, Albuquerque, NM 87106.
Voice: A speaker whose tape recorded voice could not be identified on playback.
WASP: White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, the majority type of Yankee.
Watson: See Acknowledgments.
Yankee: Approximately, an inhabitant of U.S.A. who is not clearly a member of a minority group. (Different from Southern U.S.A., where it usually means the inhabitants of Northern U. S. A.).

CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS*

Chairman	Prof. Edward P. Dozier
American G. I. Forum	James Baca
Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma	Ralph Keen
Council on Spanish American Work	Dale Robinson
Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs	Albert Raymond Cruz
League of United Latin American Citizens	Polo Rivera
	Ted Martinez (local)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People	June Shagaloff
Navajo Amerindians	Dillon Platero
Pueblo Amerindians	Joe Sando

* See Appendix IV for their biographies, and Appendix III concerning Navajos as after-commenters.

CHAPTER I. THE BACKGROUND

Purpose and goals

> Nobody has even asked Blacks or any other minority group to enter into a general discussion of what they see as the goals of education. In terms of their own educational goals, who knows that they cannot produce an equal effective atmosphere for learning? (Sol Tax 1968:5).

It was largely to end such ignorance that Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory decided to convene leaders of Southwestern minorities (not only Blacks but also Spanish speakers and Amerindians). The ethnic education gap and related cultural problems could not be blamed on any one simple factor. Holding such a conference in the Southwest was logical since the area has the greatest non-Anglo population.

Another reason for encouraging the ethnic leaders themselves to express their groups' educational goals is that true freedom comes only with self-confidence:

> Ghetto residents increasingly believe that they are excluded from the decision making process which affects their lives and community. This feeling of exclusion, intensified by the bitter legacy of racial discrimination, has engendered a deep seated hostility toward the institutions of government. (U. S. Civil Disorders 1968:149).

The historian Forbes stated this principle in analyzing a similar conference held by and for the Amerindians of California:

> Conquered peoples, and especially those who have experienced a brutal conquest, tend to isolate themselves from their conquerors, spatially where possible, and inwardly (psychologically) almost universally. They tend to develop styles of behavior which cause them to often be categorized as apathetic, withdrawn, irresponsible, shy, lazy and helpless in terms of managing their own affairs. Alcoholism and excessive personalistic factionalism seem to typify such defeated, powerless populations, and individuals exhibit signs of possessing serious inferiority complexes and a weak or negative sense of personal identity. This style of behavior tends not to be greatly ameliorated by paternalistic-elitist reform or welfare programs which may subsequently be administered by the dominant population, perhaps because such programs serve simply to reinforce a sense of inferiority and incapacity.
>
> It may well be that a conquered population can be truly liberated from the state of being conquered and powerless only through a process of self-liberation wherein the people in question acquire some significant measure of control over their own destiny. As a part of this process, a conquered people must acquire some control over the various mechanisms which serve to develop or to destroy that sense of personal inner security and pride which is essential for successful participation in socio-political affairs. All forms of education, including that which derives from the home, the community and mass media are crucial in this connection.
>
> This report, and the various conferences and meetings leading up to it, represents a significant step in the California Indian people's struggle for psychological liberation. It represents an effort to come to grips with those educational forces which, too often in the past, have either been hostile, devastatingly paternalistic, or indifferent to the Indian individual. The California Indian people are attempting, through this effort, to gain some measure of influence over their own destiny and of the destiny of their children. By so doing, they are liberating themselves from the negative self-images forced upon them by the conquest, are helping to insure that their children will not be victims of such negative self-images, and, in addition, that all California education will be improved through the enrichment represented by the native legacy of this state. (Forbes 1967? VII-VIII).

The goals of that California conference were somewhat like the wider goals of the Southwestern Laboratory's conference. The latter were:

To involve ethnic leaders and eventually laymen in planning the improvement of the education of their children.

To unify minorities and use collective strength toward a common goal: improved education for the children.

To identify clearly the problems which prevent the majority of ethnic children from achieving the same level of education as the white children.

To investigate ways and means of solving these problems.

To decide on the next course of action.

To publicize the situation and the leaders' recommendations.

The basis of the problem

The problem in education. According to the U. S. census, minority ethnic groups have achieved much less in formal education than their white counterparts. Upon reaching the age at which attendance is no longer a legal requirement, high school students have a drop-out rate as high as 75 percent. A small percentage finish high school and very few attend college.

A Federal census of five Southwestern states (New Mexico, Arizona, California, Colorado, Texas) tells the story. Some measure of the differential magnitude may be seen in an ethnic analysis of the median-average school years completed in those states in 1960. We find a considerable inequality; for males, it is:

Non-Spanish/whites . . .	11.8 years, here called 100%	
Spanish-surname	8.1	..... 68% as much as non-Spanish whites
Negro	9.1	..... 77% as much as non-Spanish whites
Amerindian	7.9	..... 67% as much as non-Spanish whites

(Details appear in the table in Appendix I.)

Not only is the quantity of education inferior, but also the quality. Even the success of the many education-for-the-disadvantaged projects of the past decade is still quite in doubt. Indeed, some early returns suggest that virtually all the major schemes for the culturally different have failed. (Freeman 1968).

The economic factors. The reader from Mars might assume that these educational woes must be due to ethnic ineptitudes. But social science shows that when one culture dominates another, the latter will suffer many types of trouble, ranging from economic deprivation to food-habit change. While each case differs historically, the ramifications of transcultural disorganization in the Southwest are reported in Spicer

(1954). For non-industrial groups, a viable economy generally depends on holdings of land and/or livestock. Since Negroes generally came to the U. S. as slaves, they rarely owned land; hence part of their economic plight. By contrast, Amerindians and La Raza were extensive land holders; hence their economic straits today may at first glance seem "self-deserved." But such an attribution disappears when we consider the nature of that loss.

The land deprival of La Raza may be inferred from some facts from the Northern Southwest: the Spanish speakers there received title on less than *half* their land (Burma 1954:15). And merely since 1854:

> Hispanos have lost 2,000,000 acres of private land and 1,700,000 acres of communal land; 1,800,000 acres have been taken by the state for its educational fund, and vast areas have been given to railroads or placed in National Forests. (*ibid:* 16)

Certainly the Amerindians have fared as badly, if not worse:

> Once the Indians of America lived on what the real estate entrepreneurs have since decided was 1,905,000,000 acres. The country was theirs. Of those almost two billion acres, barely a remembrance 56 million acres, or 2.9 percent of the land has been left in their hands. (Steiner 1968:161)

In other words, the Amerindians have lost 97% of their chief source of wealth. Nor is the remainder viable:

> The tribal Amerindians farm barely six percent of their own lands, and 83% of *that* is dry farming, without irrigation and with very little water. (*ibid:* 163)

The cultural corollaries. Why are these minority ethnic groups in such a weakened situation? One major reason is their lack of organization. Consider the Spanish speakers. Until recently, there were few formal organizations in the Hispanic village culture. Only the church, the Penitente Order, irrigation committees and the extended family had any broad obligations or powers. (Ulibarri 1958:29). When the extended family began to disintegrate, partially under the pressure of the Anglo system, "the people were left no social organization to facilitate the process of transition" *(ibid).* Only in the last few years have formal political organizations arisen among many of the Hispanics, such as the American G. I. Forum and the League of United Latin American Citizens. In sum, the ethnic minorities were less oriented than Anglos toward the formal organizations that might have withstood the intercultural impact.

But intercultural impact alone does not explain the gap in academic attainment that was noted earlier. Many subtler and more structural matters are involved. Essentially, the Anglo culture favored a "melting pot" into which ethnic minorities were to be "normalized" into the Anglo-Saxon mold. That mold had many components, such as emphasis on technology rather than on sociability. This deeper analysis is desirable for an understanding of the significance of the phenomena of which cultural leaders (such as those attending the present conference) complain. Background material on these intercultural rigidities appears in Appendix II.

Preparing for the conference

In obtaining insiders' viewpoints of the ethnic educational crisis, we sought to balance the extant reports, virtually all of which are outsiders' viewpoints. One of the better such meetings was the National Research Conference on American Indian Education; there, the participants were selected principally from outside the ethnics, "to represent . . . senior social scientists and educational researchers . . . educators experienced in Indian education . . . representatives of state and federal agencies . . .," etc. (Aurbach 1967:viii).

We felt strong pressures to include, indeed even to superpose, Anglos in the conference. [Similarly, Rough Rock Demonstration School was under great pressure to add non-Navajos to its School Board (Johnson 1968:135.)] But, like it, we were able to limit the conferees to representatives of non-Anglos sodalities.

In the case of the SWCEL conference, the organizations were selected by the processes detailed in Appendix III. All the selected groups accepted the invitation to the conference. Thereupon, they were sent a list of questions which would enable them to prepare for the discussions. The final program was arranged by conference chairman Dr. Edward Dozier from the following list of general topics.

Community Relations With Schools

How can ethnic representation on school boards be increased?

How does community involvement (such as that at the Rough Rock Demonstration School) affect children's learning?

What are the effects of some of the new, informal teaching organizations, such as church-situated classes, tutoring by college students, and ethnic heritage enrichment classes?

Curriculum

Should more emphasis be given to vocational, rather than academic, courses of instruction?

Are there parts of your culture's heritage (such as ceremonies) that should *not* be taught in school?

If your group's children have experienced any experimental teaching programs, what happened when the experiment ended? What types of benefit, if any, seem to be permanent?

Teachers

In what ways could teachers who come from an Anglo background be made more aware of the rich cultural heritage which children from your group bring with them to school?

Teachers' salaries tend to level off after a dozen or so years of teaching. Does this affect their attitudes toward (1) social changes in school population, and (2) cultural minorities?

Home Environment

What differences in pupils come from differences between the Anglo small "nuclear" families, and the non-Anglo extended families, or husband-lacking families?

Are there ways to improve homework conditions for the children in your cultural group (by keeping schools open for study in the evening, or by providing special facilities in your community locations, for example)?

The Overall Social/Political Scene

Do special benefits for minority cultural groups (such as the Johnson-O'Malley Act funds for American Indians) tend to re-segregate pupils otherwise headed toward integration? From the point of view of your group, is this good or bad for your children?

Are you losing your best students in a "brain drain" toward the Anglo culture, or is there a reversal of such a trend?

Is the United States heading toward a separation of cultures, as the report of the Government Commission on Civil Disorders seemed to suggest? If so, what effects might this have on the education of children from cultural minority groups?

Scientific Analysis of Education

Do psychological and achievement tests (including I. Q. tests) discriminate against the children of your cultural group? If so, how can students otherwise be checked for their progress in school?

Is there a proper balance between psychological research (emphasizing differences between individuals), sociological research (differences between classes of people), and anthropoligical research (differences between cultures)?

Why do so few members of ethnic minority groups become behavioral scientists?

The Conference Procedure

On Friday, 3 May 1968, representatives from eight cultural minority group organizations important to the Southwestern United States gathered at the SWCEL in Albuquerque. Their biographies and short histories of the organizations they represented can be found in Appendix IV.

The meeting began with welcomes by SWCEL officials. Following these opening remarks, the only persons allowed in the conference room were the ethnic representatives and Dr. Burger, SWCEL's cultural anthropologist and conference planner. (Dr. Burger was only an observer and did not participate beyond the introductory statements.) The meeting was closed until 4:00 P.M. when news representatives, Laboratory staff and other parties were permitted to enter.

To provide the proper emotional atmosphere, the food and the music were keyed to the backgrounds of the various groups. Luncheon was served in a private room of one of the state's leading Spanish-heritage restaurants. SWCEL's Media Laboratory provided a continuous recording of Hispanic, Amerindian and Negro music during lulls and breaks (See Appendix V for components).

CHAPTER II: COMMENTS BY THE CONFEREES (ABRIDGED AND REARRANGED BY THEME)

The Problems

Dr. Petty: This conference was developed without preconceived ideas of your conclusions. Dr. Burger originated the idea of assembling some leaders of the ethnic populations to thrash out problems important to them. We hope it will serve the general needs of the Laboratory and not be a narrow project. What's important to you is important to our Laboratory.

Dr. Caplan: Our interdisciplinary staff will take your ideas and recommendations very seriously. We believe we are the first Laboratory to host this type of indigenous conference. We are pleased also to be the first Laboratory to have a cultural anthropologist on the staff. He keeps us aware of the effect of ethnic factors in education. Now I'll introduce him.

Dr. Burger: This is your conference. As you may have noticed, no other Laboratory members will be present until the end of your conference.

Today this Ethnic Educational Conference will discuss the problems of cultural differences. Culture is a matter of cognition, affect (emotion) and psychomotor activities, which the anthropologist calls eidos, ethos, and ethnic psychomotion respectively. Each may differ from society to society. For example, an Anglo sees a six-color rainbow, but the Bassa-speaking people of Liberia see a rainbow with two colors; *ziza,* or orange, and *hui,* or blue (Gleason 1961:4). It's the same rainbow, but different perception.

Similarly, the Anglo culture sees children in school or playing, and this "school" is his form of education. Many other cultures see education as a much broader concept called "enculturation." Enculturation includes silently watching elders do things; the child imitates simple chores and handicrafts around the home or market place. In this way, he learns to fit into his culture.

It generally has been the Anglo who has studied the "exotic" minorities. But, as Whitney Young recently stated, it is time other cultures observed Anglo society! Then they would see the differences between Yankeeism and the rest of the world.

To be your chairman, we have asked a person doubly qualified to appreciate cultural diversity. He is both a trained anthropologist and a native of Santa Clara Pueblo. It is my pleasure to introduce Professor Edward P. Dozier.

Chairman: This meeting is unique in that for the first time that I know of, people from various ethnic groups have been brought together. I wonder why other minority groups weren't brought in? We have a sizeable Chinese-American group in the area; we have Mormon groups and so on. Were our groups selected because we are in some way deprived? I don't know,* but it's interesting to speculate. There must be some view on us as minority groups brought together; some view that the larger Anglo-American culture has of us. But we do, I think, have a lot to learn. We do, as is evident here, have deep roots in America. We are, in a sense, the original groups in this area, and we all date way back.

I think we can gain from this free and informal exchange. I think we're all keyed up to talk, so this is just more ammunition for your own individual presentations. Perhaps some of you will want to talk about curriculum. Should more emphasis be given to vocational, rather than academic, courses?

The Pueblo representative may mention this type of thing being done. I know the Pueblos miss their former partially vocational schools and would welcome them again.

Are there parts of your culture's heritage, such as ceremonies that should *not* be taught in school? This again affects the Amerindian groups. Pueblos particularly do not wish to divulge to others portions of their culture, I believe.

In what way could Anglo teachers be made more aware of the rich cultural heritage which children in a minority group bring with them to the school?

This, too, seems more an Amerindian problem than a Mexican American or Negro problem. We are just now educating Indian people to be teachers. Even then, there are teachers from one Amerindian group who do not know the problems of the specific group they are teaching.

The home environment – what are the differences resulting from the Anglo small "nuclear" families versus the non-Anglo extended families, or those families which lack fathers? This is prevalent among some Mexican American and Negro groups. I think the extended family very often makes the child very dependent. His problems were handled by various kin. When he enters a highly competitive situation among Anglos, he is at a disadvantage.

Are you losing your ethnic students in a "brain drain?" I think the Navajos in recent years have begun to keep people who might otherwise have been lost to the tribe. Generally, in most Indian communities, the really capable people do move out and are lost to the community.

Do few members of ethnic minority groups become behavioral scientists? It seems very few of us go into behavioral sciences, but there is an increase in recent years. Somewhere, also, is the problem of identity. In private conversation the Cherokee representative mentioned it. He didn't use the term "Indian" and the Pueblo representative didn't know whether to refer to Spanish American or Mexican American. Why these distinctions? If Indians are considered one group, why not all Spanish speaking people? We will discuss these and all other subjects further. I will try to stay neutral. Now, to begin the conference, I would like each of the participants to identify himself and the organization he is representing.

GI Forum: For today's conference, the national director of the American GI Forum has appointed me to represent the organization.

The American GI Forum is one of the younger organizations representing the Spanish speaking and the Mexican American groups of the Southwest. After World War II, many veterans were having trouble breaking through red tape to obtain their GI Bill of Rights, etc. In Corpus Christi, Texas, Dr. Hector Garcia organized a small group of veterans, and they chose the name, "American GI Forum." At first, the organization was exclusively for veterans. Today it is open to anyone interested in the problems of the Spanish speaking and Mexican American groups.

Education is one of the biggest interests of the American GI Forum, and we approach it in a very pragmatic way. We offer scholarships at state and local levels. These scholarships go to needy and qualified young people of Spanish speaking origin who like a higher education. We also help them obtain government loans. We encourage our young people to stay in school, and try to get dropouts to return. The American GI Forum is very interested in education. Therefore, our president was most anxious to see that our organization was represented here.

NAACP: My name is June Shagaloff. I am National Education

*For this laboratory's actual selection rationale, see Appendix III.

Director for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. This group was organized in 1909 and is the oldest and largest civil rights organization in America. We are committed to eliminating all forms of social discrimination affecting Negroes in the United States. This applies in every area of life, such as employment, education and housing. We approach all these problems through fact-finding, negotiation, persuasion and community action. When necessary, we also use political and community protest action. We also attempt to influence and direct legislation through the courts. The education program for the Association is carried out through 1,500 branches of the NAACP in every city and in many smaller communities. Where a community is too small to sustain a branch, there may be a county organization. Therefore, we have a national organization working through local chapters organized on state and regional levels.

We are deeply concerned about the critical problems in education, such as school desegregation, both legal *(de jure)* and actual *(de facto).* The area covered by Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory suffers both these forms of segregation in public schools.

We are also very concerned about the quality of education being afforded Negro students in curricula and textbooks. We are concerned with the exclusion of the Negro from American history, and also inclusion in a very distorted and stereotyped way. We seek representation of Negro communities on policy making boards of public school systems. We are concerned about placement of Negroes throughout school systems at teaching and administration levels. Very generally, we are concerned with civil rights, but concerned specifically with education.

LULAC: My name is Leopoldo Maldonado Rivera. I am Arizona Education Chairman of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). At present I am Center Director of the Pre-vocational Orientation Center in the Concentrated Employment Program in Phoenix. Operation SER (Service Employment and Redevelopment), whose regional office was once in Albuquerque, is subcontractor for the Center. I am active in numerous other organizations in our community, and am a member of the State Advisory Committee on the education of migrant children in Arizona.

In Arizona we have one of the youngest populations in the United States. Therefore, we are very concerned with the direction of education for the Mexican American.

COSAW: Dr. Alfonso Rodriguez asked me to represent the Council on Spanish American Work (COSAW). The council grew from a group of Protestant settlement houses, schools, churches and hospitals. It is located primarily in the Southwestern states, but we are growing and think now in terms of a nationwide organization for improving Spanish Americans. We try to get together to share our information.

Our organization believes strongly that more Spanish Americans should become teachers, ministers, priests and government workers, and should progress to positions of leadership in these professional groups.

Agency: My name is Albert Cruz. I represent the U.S. Government's Inter-Agency Committee on Mexican American Affairs. Our small full-time staff is supplemented by part-time employees, whose primary assignment is elsewhere. I, for example, am regularly employed with the U.S. Department of Labor, in manpower research programs of the Department's experimental and demonstration effort. This manpower research operation includes the well-known Operation SER, which stands for Service Employment and Redevelopment. The Manpower Administration where I work also administers other programs for Spanish-speaking groups, including job programs. I also work closely with the former president of the American GI Forum, and present IAC-MAA chairman, traveling and attending conferences in the Southwest. I serve as permanent consultant to the Inter-Agency Committee. The work is primarily with reference to education and manpower. The Committee's main mission is to serve this ethnic group that has been neglected for so long – the Spanish-speaking group consisting mainly of Mexican American and Spanish Americans, but also including Puerto Ricans, Cubans, etc.

The Inter-Agency Committee has no particular policy at this time to propose regarding educational programs. It's a summing up process for us. We don't want to view it strictly as a cause of something that we're going to talk about, or solely techniques and innovations, but really as the end project.

In other words, we want to develop the person to share fully in all aspects of the host culture – in this case the Anglo, the English-speaking culture. As such, I will not be taking much of a stand on questions such as whether we should start bilingual education for a child prior to his entering school, or wait for formal courses later on in high school. Our Committee really has no position on such matters at this time.

The IAC-MAA was quite instrumental in pushing for Title VII of the U. S. Elementary and Secondary School Act of 1965, which is the Bilingual Act. In today's discussions, I would like you to keep in mind that although the nomenclature given to our Committee is "Mexican American Affairs," it is really more than that.

Pueblo: My name is Joe Sando. I represent the All Indian Pueblo Council, and I am Chairman of its Education Committee. We consider our Council to be about the oldest organization in the New World. It dates back to the 16th Century. We have reorganized at least three times, and currently are working under a constitution. It is mainly a political action organization, because we are able to consult with Congressional delegates with more authority than outside groups working with us. These groups are the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs, Public Health Service, and Office of Economic Opportunity. Today, the Council is more or less the coordinator of these other groups on Pueblo problems. We try to get them to cooperate for the benefit of the Indian people.

We are concerned about the same things that most of you are. We are concerned especially with the Spanish-speaking people here in New Mexico. The Pueblo Indians are closer to the Spanish-speaking group than any other ethnic group I know of because we have lived together since the 16th century. We have similar ways of life except for our religion. I don't know of any really outstanding problems. Some of the Spanish speakers call themselves "Spanish" and some "Mexican," but we still have the same problems and the same way of living.

Chairman: The Navajo Tribal Council may contest Mr. Sando's feeling that the Pueblo Council is the oldest!

GI Forum: My name is James Baca and I represent the American GI Forum. I was born in Pena Blanca, a little village about 13 miles from Albuquerque. I attended elementary and high school in New Mexico, but went out-of-state to college. For the past 11 years I have taught in rural schools in Espanola, Bernalillo and Pena Blanca. I spent two years teaching in Albuquerque. All of my teaching has been with the Spanish speaking and the Indian groups. I believe I am the only active classroom teacher here today.

Cherokee: I am Ralph Keen, General Business Manager of the Cherokee Nation. I have the feeling that everyone in this room, with the exception of myself, can or does in some way, shape or form, influence the education of the youngsters of whom they speak. The Cherokee Nation does not have this capability. I do not feel I can in any way influence the education of the Cherokee youngsters. In fact, the powerlessness is the reason I am here.

I'm not going to challenge anyone who claims they're older than the Cherokee Nation, but I will say we have been here a long time! The first treaty between the U.S. and the Cherokees

was around 1785; we have been here that long.

We used to be a separate nation, having all the governmental powers of any nation. But with Oklahoma becoming a state we became disadvantaged. Oklahoma was born with much guidance from many Indian tribes. Several hundred square miles of eastern Oklahoma were settled and started by the Cherokee. But in 1907 we were stripped of our right to govern. Thereafter, the Cherokee Nation was almost extinct until last summer. At that time, the principal chief of the Cherokees decided that the best interests of the Cherokees were not being served. He also felt that what remained of the Cherokee Nation should be its own responsibility. Consequently, after 60 years we re-established our tribal office. We don't have a large staff. However, we've started to analyze why we exist. We are the legal trustees of the property of the Cherokee Nation. We haven't yet grown to the point where we know precisely what our group ought to do. I was hired as a general business manager because there were some in the tribe who felt their only need was for someone to manage their business affairs. Since then, we have found that we also needed an assistant chief.

All of the business of the Cherokee Nation is now operated through my office. We have not been allowed to participate in the Office of Economic Opportunity programs, so are doing it ourselves. We are vigorously engaged in bringing industry to eastern Oklahoma. We have been successful in moving several factories to the area in the past 10 months.

The Cherokee Nation has many problems with money and people that are unique. We don't have the least idea how many Cherokees are alive. We don't even know how to decide who is a Cherokee. Up to now, people who are one-quarter – or less – Cherokee have been speaking for the Cherokees. With the coming of the tribal office, and my taking on the job of business manager, we hope to change this. We hope that in some way all of the good intentions of the various current problems will come to fruition for the Cherokees. We hope some of the Cherokees who live in backwoods communities – some of whom can't speak English – will somehow have a voice in this work.

Agency: This is homecoming for me. I am a product of Mora County, I was taught in Mora and Santa Fe schools. I went on to New Mexico State, New Mexico Highlands and later to George Washington University. I have been away on and off about 10 years, but I've always maintained a very close relationship with my home state.

COSAW: I've listened to your experiences in a northern New Mexico village and in Oklahoma. My father was a miner in southern Missouri. My father spoke of discrimination and lack of education. I'm not Spanish and not Indian; I don't know what I am. Every year I changed schools and each year I had to prove I could stand up to the toughest kid in the school. I finally went to college where I continued trying to prove myself by playing football.

LULAC: To attend this conference, I took advantage of my Anglo training to "wheel and deal." Then I had to make adjustments in my Mexican culture and postpone the baptism and fiesta of my niece which were to be held today!

Anglo Ignorance of Ethnic Differences

Forum: The more I teach, the more I realize that the Anglo system *presupposes that every group in the country must conform to its rigid system of education.* This is especially hard on minority groups. Last year, I taught in another state on a voluntary assignment. My pupils were a large number of poor whites. Our middle-class educational system did not benefit them much – nor does it benefit any of the minority groups. This waste hurts both racial and economic minorities. I wonder if the rigid system goes back to New England. It was there our public schools were founded by churches with puritanical values. This philosophy spread through our school system.

Now, our Forum does a lot of research, primarily in manpower. Our Committee also finds school misfits. Sometimes we do get into the area of testing teen-age bilingual youths. Whether a test is verbal or non-verbal doesn't seem to hurt ethnic groups, but the time element makes the difference. The Mexican Americans of the Southwest never had any interest in time. Therefore, when speed is a factor in a test, we do very poorly.

LULAC: Our Educational Policies Commission defines the functions of the school so as to lead Mexican Americans toward participation in community life. However, it fails to acknowledge that this group lives in its ancestral community and is not accepted by the broader Anglo community as a bonafide group. This non-acceptance has created a cultural lag and hindered maximum personality growth. We are confused about our role in the American scene, and we still remain "foreigners." We are stereotyped "Mexican" after 100 years of residence – of cultural conflict. We are ashamed to acknowledge our own ethnic ancestry because of social pressures.

NAACP: Are the Hispanic communities concerned about the racial-ethnic issue in the public schools?

Chairman: The Negroes were involved in civil rights first. Only now is a similar movement beginning to sweep through the Mexican Americans. They don't sense the segregation as much.

Agency: The federal viewpoint is that the Mexican American people of the Southwest are romantically far away. You all cannot unexpectedly drop in the Washington offices, 2,000 miles away, not easily, to apply pressures or promote your cause. By contrast, some 50% of the Negro community is within a 500 mile radius of Washington. It makes its presence felt! Therefore, programs are designed for Negroes much more than they are for the people of the Southwest. We are trying to bridge the gap through the Inter-Agency Committee. It is critical to upgrade Mexican American causes.

NAACP: I had to make a primary adjustment in my own thinking and response. By the phrase, "culturally different background," this conference seems to refer to anthropology's concept of culture. But I'm accustomed to hearing this term attributed to all Negro children, or to children of the poor, either black or white. There may be no anthropological "cultural" differences. But color or poverty *is* interpreted by the majority as representing a cultural difference.

Chairman: By "culturally different," we mean also having a distinct language difference. Therefore, Spanish-speaking people and Anglo Americans definitely would be culturally different. But the Negro speaks English and has grown up in an Anglo-American cultural setting. We would not consider this a cultural difference. Perhaps we are talking about a culture of poverty which has some distinctiveness wherever you find it. It may be in Mexico, Puerto Rico or New York City.

NAACP: I want to speak about educational theories, assumptions, policies and practices. These are things that influence quality education. Children from poor families, regardless of race or color, have educational needs that should be met. I do want to challenge the assumption that the environment influences the child's ability to learn. But the concept of culturally deprived or disadvantaged children is being distorted by educators across the country. *The culture of poverty, where there is no difference other than color or race, is being used to rationalize a child's failure.* I share Mr. Baca [GI Forum]'s view that the school has dropped out from the child.

LULAC: At the El Paso conference we had a chance to talk to Mr. Ximenes [Chairman of Agency]. We discussed funding by

HEW of an adult education program. We Mexican Americans will have a battle on our hands. For we run into the middle-class Anglo philosophy that Anglos are the only ones who know how to develop programs for the people in our communities. SER Center No. 2 is trying to take over the orientation part of the program. It is naively using the same elementary and high school program which already made educational failures of our people.

LULAC: We spend a lot of time at conferences getting opinions of the Mexican American leaders to help the "outer community" solve their own problems. I was particularly impressed by one presentation made by Marcos DeLeon, a Spanish teacher from Van Nuys, Calif. He wrote a lengthy paper on a new educational philosophy for the Mexican American. During this conference I will be injecting several of his ideas.

We have the problem of educating 5,000,000 Mexican Americans in the Southwest. But, asks Mr. DeLeon, what difference does it make if some of them migrated to this country 30 years ago, or were included as an integral social unit in the territory ceded by Mexico at the Treaty of Guadalupe back in 1848? Mexican Americans now are a well defined social group whose cultural patterns differ very little from Texas to California. However, we have been bound to this particular area by restrictions of one kind or another. And now our culture has suffered to the point of partial disintegration; first, affecting family life, breaking down mores and language. Secondly, this affects drastically our adjustment in American society. So, Mr. DeLeon argues, and I agree, the school system cannot act as an isolated unit merely "melting" Mexican Americans without regard for our larger problem.

Pueblo: The Anglos also fail to understand the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico. Our geography, culture, background and history have molded Pueblo people into a unique entity. However, the American public has learned to interpret the word "Indian" to include all of North American's collective Indian population. The American public is well aware of the problems of American Indians, but never has learned that each tribe is as different as are the personalities of any individual humans.

Forum: I agree that it is dangerously easy to lump all minority groups in one big category. I lived among Indians all my life, and I often hear Anglos talk about "the" Indians. I say: Wait a minute! The Indians have as great differences among them as the several Europeans. Some Indians are as different in language and background as a Scandinavian is from an Italian. I think the same diversity applies often times to my "Spanish-speaking group," or the "Latin American group."

LULAC: In studying the average school curriculum, one finds without fail the dominance of those cultural elements peculiar to the Anglos. This traditional approach, expressing an authoritarian concept, ignores the educational needs of the particular (ethnic) community. But we have no answers as yet to the following basic problems: *What should be the educational objectives and goals for the Mexican American?* What constitutes and comprises his cultural environmental needs? How do cultural elements affect the formation of his personality? *How can school make learning profitable and functional without knowledge of ethnic behavioral patterns?* How can the (Anglo) school best evaluate this experience for diagnostic, remedial and placement purposes with standard tests for an entirely different cultural group?

Educational service is being endangered by the lack of research in these subjects. Any attempt to clarify the above mentioned subjects must be carried out in pilot projects and educational studies. We must learn how teachers, administrators and student personnel services can best ser - these communities.

The old saying that the United States is the "melting pot" of the world is not quite true. This philosophy must no longer govern Mexican Americans. Acculturation and community planning must be guided to prevent cultural conflicts. My plea is for constructive, long-range planning for education in the Mexican American communities and not as an Anglo-traditionally oriented program.

Relations Between Different Ethnic Minorities

LULAC: In regard to pleas for unity between Negro and Mexican American, we Mexican Americans feel at a disadvantage. It sometimes seems that the Negro is more interested in furthering his own civil rights than including other minority groups.

Chairman: I feel there is a lot of disunity among the Spanish-speaking people. Is there any reason why they can't eliminate their minor differences, particularly since they are integrating very fast?

LULAC: (local): I think this is changing. Mr. Cruz [Agency] can back me up. Until four years ago, the Mexican Americans were overlooked when minority groups were discussed. I didn't know Mr. Rivera of our own LULAC before today, and he didn't know me. We'd never before had a conference like this. However, too many people who attend conferences are not truly representative of the people they speak for. This is fast changing. Today's conference is the correctly representative type. We know our own minds. Mexican Americans in New Mexico should not apologize for our political ability. We've always won representation in politics.

LULAC: I'm concerned about economic competition between ethnic groups. We do not go along with the idea that if one culture represents 24% of the population, it should automatically have 24% of the positions in these organizations or agencies. I'd fight this restrictive idea. Anybody should be able to compete against others regardless of ethnic numbers. Anglo communities do not dictate how many or few Anglo employees, employers or supervisors there should be! I believe in open competition based on qualifications and potential, not bound by percentages.

Agency: Percentages might work against the ethnic minorities. For example, the Spanish Americans traditionally go into teaching, and forsake other occupations.

Forum: Now, Mexican Americans sometimes have some strong allies in the so-called Anglo power structure. There are many in that group sympathetic to the workings of the democratic process. So it's good to see the Anglos point out their own diverse backgrounds. We'd like to see the democratic process apply to everyone.

COSAW: Here's an example. In the Espanola [New Mexico] area, we have had Negro college students assist in the summer playground. The Spanish kids call them "Anglos." By that they mean that those Negroes are not Spanish!

LULAC (local): The word "Anglo" only came to our part of the world to distinguish them from the programs for Mexican Americans and other Spanish-speaking people. The word is overly used in the Southwest.

LULAC: We must think of people as individuals and as human beings. We must get away from referring to ethnic groups.

LULAC: Just recently, there was considerable uproar in Phoenix about mistreatment of Mexican Americans by Negroes. The school held a meeting of Mexican American, Negro and Anglo students. The Mexican American students said this was the same kind of boyish fighting that went on even between two students of the same race. Only because this happened to be a Negro and Mexican American fighting did the newspapers make a fuss over it.

School Achievements in Different Ethnic Groups

Chairman: The Europeans came to America and to the Southwest with high motivation for achievement in education. Mexican Americans were already here along with the Indians. Did they lack this kind of motivation?
NAACP: I can't speak for Mexican American children. But Negro children enter first and second grades highly motivated, even if they are from poor families. However, after exposure to the Anglo school system, they lose that motivation by grades five and six.

Of interest to this conference is the competition between the Hispanic communities and the Negro-American communities. I mean economic competition and seeking higher status. A main area of concern is educational opportunity. I'm therefore delighted and amazed to learn of the common concern with educational experiences of the several ethnic groups meeting here today. Mr. Baca [GI Forum] expressed the feeling that perhaps the students aren't at fault for dropping out as much as the schools are. Mr. Sando [Pueblo] pointed out that Indian students measured up to the cultural majority in achievement – *up to the fourth grade.* Up to this point, they compare with the Negro children and fall below the national norm. The Negro child starts declining in his achievement at the third-grade level. He progressively declines in high school. Isn't this parallel significant?
LULAC (local): At the El Paso Conference (1967), I heard two New Mexico superintendents say that in New Mexico, Mexican Americans were a lot better off than in Texas and California. In New Mexico we finish the sixth or seventh grade. In Texas the average might be the fourth grade. Yet aren't we simply comparing two systems both of which are inferior? The "average" in Albuquerque is the 13th grade – but the Mexican American doesn't come close to it. So are we really better off?
Chairman: It seems that minority children parallel Anglos up through grade four. What happens to minority children after grade four?
LULAC: I can answer from my teaching experience. I was advised to divide my teaching day into two parts: half at the elementary level, half at the secondary level. I did so in probably one of the largest high schools in the country.

I was advised that the fourth graders were most difficult to handle. Studying them, I found only a few Anglo children in the class. They didn't seem to be as dynamic and energetic as the Negro or Mexican American children. This probably is due to an accelerated maturing process in the latter. In Mexico, a 15-year old girl is ready to play the full roles of lover, wife and mother. The Negro is this way also to a great extent. The Mexican American and the Negro seem to exercise and acquire muscular growth at an earlier age than Anglos. This may be due to their community expecting them to work much younger. In physical appearance, the Anglo appears to be gawky and scroungy. The Mexican American already starts flexing and exhibiting his physical prowess.

Therefore, my emphasis was to demand strenuous physical activity from my students. The students would then return to the classroom less exuberant.
Agency: Do you feel that the minority child's inattention may be due to this abundant energy?
LULAC: The Mexican American youth is very playful. He has an inherent love of life. In our religion, we believe there will be a life hereafter. This is a reason we can enjoy life now. Most Anglo teachers are at a loss because they do not understand this. When I try to explain to them, they just tell me that this attitude is absurd.
Chairman: Is there real evidence of biological differences or cultural? What are they?
NAACP: We have to take into consideration the fact that there are social classes within racial groups.
Chairman: The reason the Negro was motivated or achieved physical prowess is more cultural than physical. This is where he is allowed to excel without many barriers.
NAACP: The Negro boy in high school is expected to participate on a basketball team. But the same Negro is not expected to participate in the French honorary society or in dramatics.
Chairman: This also was where the American Indian achieved honors. He was expected to excel in athletics.
NAACP: This should be said in praise of the minority students, not as a condemnation of the system.
Chairman: We reward individuals in certain areas. This leads minority students to follow this same interest. I really don't believe there's a biological difference. It's cultural and social.
NAACP: The area of most concern is the attitude of administrators and teachers. They expect a child of color or low socio-economic background to fail. Negro children's underachievement once was explained by their "inherent" inferiority. Now it is explained by their "cultural deprivation" or "disadvantage."
NAACP: Both ideas are non-explanations. Hence, NAACP calls for a basic restructuring of public schools in America.
Chairman: Are you placing too much emphasis on economic barriers rather than language and cultural? We're going to have to spend 14 years to educate a Spanish-speaking child compared with 12 years for an Anglo. The same 12 years should apply to the Negro, since he doesn't have a language or a cultural "handicap."
NAACP: Too many administrators, educators and teachers put the responsibility for underachievement on the child. But such an excuse of color, culture or language makes them less accountable for their own failure.
COSAW: You said all types of children, regardless of the element of society, should be achieving at grade level. Yet you said you never have a class that's achieving at grade three or four or any particular point. But all levels are in that class.
NAACP: I didn't mean that rigidly. Something is criminally wrong when you find that all the children in the college preparatory program somehow "happen" to be white middle-class. Children in vocational training "happen" to be colored, or of poor or minority groups. And the vocational training often is set for jobs that don't or won't exist. The same tragedy is occurring where children, especially of minorities, are not in training for jobs that do exist.
COSAW: Would you object if we said 12 years to take care of these special differences may be unrealistically brief? The child might require 14.
NAACP: That is an unfair question since it should work equally for all children, including Anglos.
COSAW: Should American education be based on any child's completing in 12 years?
NAACP: If we had an effective educational system, we could reduce the system to nine or 10 years. Many studies show that children have the greatest learning years *before* they enter the first grade. Kindergarten programs in America were developed for middle-class white children. But the Head Start Program was developed for culturally disadvantaged or deprived poor children. Head Start is a kindergarten program designed for children of poor families.
COSAW: Head Start and Kindergarten do not mean the same. Kindergarten is a program designed to develop readiness for reading and writing. Head Start is not.
Agency: It is true that in northern New Mexico counties at the age of 16 and 17, a large percentage of students do not progress further in formal schooling. And the few who do win a diploma, immediately leave the area. This is a great loss.
Cherokee: The view of the Anglo-dominated public school system is that it is to be a railroad train going to a single destination. If you're not fast enough to jump on it, you're

not going to make it.

Instead, Cherokees believe that everyone should be allowed to board; it's going to the same place. But, before you board, we have to improve teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to Cherokee children. Let's teach them so they will be at the same achievement level in the fifth grade as all other students. Different preparations are needed for each ethnic group to reach that railroad train!

The Goal – Assimilation or Separation

Chairman: If ethnicity is so important a factor in school achievement, let's go on to consider its role in the larger society. Should our goal be assimilation into one culture, or separation into many subcultures, or some other relationship?

The subject that has constantly reappeared is this matter of separatism versus the "melting pot." There may be as many as three different opinions in our group. This is a crucial topic when considering an educational program. I initially agreed to equate integration with assimilation. Now, however, there appears a further difference from the American Indian's point of view, and perhaps even the Spanish-speaking people's point of view. They both have a very strong attachment to their community. I think they would oppose any kind of redistricting that would disturb this feeling. Northern Spanish Americans would fight to avoid leaving their church and burial grounds to which they have an almost sacred attachment. The Pueblo communities will fight to the last to prevent their being moved *even though the move may be economically more advantageous.* A similar example of this resistance recently appeared among the Seneca. Again, near urban Phoenix there is a Yaqui Amerindian community called "Guadalupe" [discussed in Jones 1968 – H.G.B.]. I'm sure it would fight to prevent redistricting if many Anglos were placed in the schools. On the other hand, Negroes might not mind being moved to other areas of a city.

Is there, then, a difference between integration and assimilation? I believe there is. When I speak of integration, I mean removal of restrictions based on color or race. But American Indians regard the word "integration" as bad. Basically, it means assimilation into the unwanted Anglo pattern.

Voice: Is such consideration justified on ethnic grounds? Why not decide on personal grounds?

In politics, for example, I'm a Republican. There's an election coming up. In the Democratic Party, Fabian Chavez is one of seven candidates for New Mexico Governor. If I find him a good candidate, I might change my party affiliation to support Chavez. More broadly, I'd like to see the idea quashed of referring to candidates by ethnic group, as Spanish American, Indian American, or what have you. John Kennedy ended the idea that a Catholic couldn't become president. I would like to think that *my* little boy could become governor, or even president. He mustn't be stuck with the label, "Spanish American." Perhaps some Federal money will help us accomplish a tri-cultural transition of Anglos, Indians and Spanish Americans.

LULAC (local): Reverend Wendell Chino [Mescalero Apache Tribal Agency Office] knows this pretty well.

We hope, after an agreement regarding Indians on the board of regents, that we can support Mr. Chino. The Eastern New Mexico higher educational system is not known for a progressive attitude toward minority groups. So we would love to have a Mescalero Apache on the Board.

He is on SWCEL's regional council. He holds many other offices. He must attend many groups.

NAACP: When I use the word "integration," I do not mean assimilation. We represent different ethnic groups of America at this meeting. However, our objectives are turning out to be not as different as I thought. Should our objective be integration, separatism or perhaps pluralism?

NAACP speaks for a vast number of Negroes in America. Our objective is to remove barriers based on race or color. We wish to provide free education.

An example is a study by school officials in Albuquerque. Under Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, for the development of educational co-ops, the old-fashioned type of school consolidation would replace the now existant, *de facto* segregated elementary and secondary schools. Our contention is that administrative *knowledge* is not lacking in preparing effective desegregation plans. But there is the lack of administrative *will* to end segregation.

This brings in the problem I raised of status competition between the Hispanic and black communities. For example, I spent some time in Phoenix where I found, within 17 school districts, many racially/ethnically concentrated elementary schools. The pattern of separation begins in the elementary schools. It carries through both in Mexican American and Negro schools. We demand a correction of this kind of concentration. But we need the support of the Mexican American communities. They also share the problem of attending schools with a reputed lower status.

Discrimination affects pupils, teachers and administrators. I spent a few days in Corpus Christi, Texas, examining the pattern of geographic zoning for elementary, junior and senior high schools. Here discrimination was based on housing patterns. The Spanish speaking population is about 51% and the Negro population is less than 6%. School officials seem to be building three school systems: one for Anglos, one for Mexican Americans and one for the small number of Negro children. The assignment of children to such different schools also affects the placement of teachers and administrators. I publicly charged that Negro teachers are being assigned to Negro-majority schools while Mexican American teachers go to the school with the largest number of Spanish speaking children. Such segregation is a critical problem for Negro and Mexican American children.

There is some division within the black communities of America regarding integration or separatism. This is an issue that is in conflict, and still developing.

Chairman: The American Indian fears that integration means being scattered in a city among other ethnic people. But he prefers to keep his community.

One difference is that the American Indian is not concerned about housing, whereas the Negro people are very much concerned.

NAACP: We believe that racially segregated schooling is harmful whether legal or merely actual. Integration is crucial in this region. The states that are covered by the Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory are a portion of Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona. Oklahoma and Texas required racial segregation in public education prior to the Supreme Court's decision of 1954. As far as I can recollect, New Mexico is the only state that never has had required or permissive segregation in the schools.

Therefore, when we talk about public educational systems in this area, we're talking about school systems that were *deliberately* segregated. These schools must now legally desegregate. In Oklahoma and Texas there are numerous school systems that have proposed ineffective desegregation plans. So HEW is increasing pressure to make these more effective. However, we do not feel it is adequate. In Tucson, Phoenix and Albuquerque, there is actual *(de facto)* segregation. The NAACP's position is to insist upon the elimination of segregation. We must end racial ethnic concentration of Negro and non-Negro students in the public schools. A basic restructuring of educational policies and

practices is necessary. This action would eliminate discrimination and provide educational opportunities to the children who need the most. The children of the poor may *need* more, but the most needy sometimes receive the least in schools which are racially and ethnically separate. This may be true also of schools that are grossly unequal and criminally neglected schools. For example, in the South, NAACP calls for full desegregation of students, teachers and administrators.

How does such segregation affect housing patterns? There may or may not be attachment, *per se,* to a community. Usually the Negro community resents the *discriminatory* pattern of dispersion or removal from a community. The school program of urban renewal could quite accurately be called "Negro removal." In New York State, for instance, a new parkway has forced removal of a Negro community. Its inhabitants want to know why *they* had to be moved rather than the middle-class whites. As in education, this too is discrimination of a different nature.

Chairman: Is the Negro removed from one area and placed in another Negro community – or a mixed community? I interpreted you as saying Negroes wanted dispersal and to integrate residentially. If this is true, they are doing well in bucking off the close-knit Negro community and moving elsewhere. They should not feel badly about being dispersed if they went to better areas than the ones they were just forced to leave.

The American Indian, however, would fight just such a move, regardless of whether it improved his living conditions. And the Northern Southwest, Spanish speaking communities would resist the same as the Indians because of their attachment to the land.

NAACP: The problem is a little different in the Negro community. We hear talk about *physically* removing Harlem, Watts, southside Chicago or part of Phoenix. No one mentions the complex *social and economic* restrictions that keep the individual from leaving the ghetto.

Agency: But the Spanish people do not live in one part of town in Taos, Espanola, Las Vegas and Santa Fe. They are scattered throughout. Therefore, northern New Mexico would be a poor example of what we are saying. Houston and Phoenix, where the Mexican Americans live in one section, are much better examples.

LULAC: I agree about the dispersal of Mexican Americans throughout the community. However, the middle-class Negro leadership has a subdivision within the ghetto as in Phoenix. There is additional Negro leadership residing in the poorer parts of the city, so they do have some freedom of movement. In Phoenix, the builders have imposed restrictions hampering the Negroes' ability to buy. The government is fighting this.

NAACP: No, I would disagree.

LULAC: When I was buying a home in northeast Phoenix, the contract stipulated that there were no restrictions as to race. Yet, when I made efforts to buy a house in other areas of Phoenix, I found restrictions. The Federal Housing Administration said they hadn't been able to "convince" all builders. I told them I understood that anything having to do with Federal funds *had* to be free of racial discrimination, but I hadn't found this true. Several Negro leaders do live outside the ghetto. One school administrator resides in northeast Phoenix. And a former officer of the Urban League lives in northwest Phoenix. So they do have a certain amount of freedom if they wish to exercise it.

One of the Mexican American's major problems is that when one becomes educated, he immediately leaves the ghetto! Our communities are in this way stripped of needed leadership and talent. We need these leaders to stay in the community and to help better the conditions of the people. The Negro hasn't always stayed to help, either.

Chairman: Indians and the Mexican Americans do not feel as strongly about segregation as Negroes. The present civil rights movement sweeping through the Spanish speakers was probably triggered by the earlier one of the Negroes.

Agency: Now, in some of the border cities, you would meet a very militant and nationalistic viewpoint. First, the people want to be "Mexican." Then they insist on being taught in Spanish right from the start. They are definite about maintaining a distinct culture. This is quite easy to do when they live in a specific area of a town. Consequently, Mexican Americans and some other Indians feel they would defeat their own purpose by getting in the mainstream and becoming acculturated. I don't feel that lessons in English, and dispersal in a multi-ethnic community, cause a person to lose his culture. In Houston, we Northern New Mexicans are said to have lost everything Spanish, to have become completely acculturated. They're wrong. I still enjoy enchiladas as well as anybody else! But we've adapted to the host culture. I have not been overwhelmed by the Anglo culture. Perhaps one does feel overpowered in the urban areas. In a meeting like this we must give some cognizance to the concentrated ethnic feelings of groupings such as Mexican Americans in El Paso. Their attitude is entirely different and more militant about completely retaining their Mexican heritage.

NAACP: In Phoenix, are Mexican Americans assigned to schools with the largest number of same ethnic group? Is there any resentment about this?

LULAC: Yes, very definitely. We presented this fact to Vicente Ximenes (Chairman of Agency). If a Mexican American student becomes a certified teacher in Arizona, he should be allowed to teach in any Arizona school, just as is the Anglo. However, he is instead assigned to predominately Mexican American schools. This created a problem of great labor turnover in the schools.

Forum: We had a similar problem in Albuquerque. At last we have Spanish speaking teachers instructing in schools other than predominantly Hispanic. However, there's still much to be desired. In our city school system, the percentage of Spanish-surnamed administrators is very low. There's a lot of subtle discrimination here that most people don't know about. For example, the first Negro principal was placed in a school with a Negro majority. There is a desire to keep discrimination subtle. The trend now is toward making it a sly art.

LULAC: I notice that even when a Negro or Mexican American school administrator is appointed to an area outside the ghetto in the Phoenix area, it is a person who is fair skinned. This is also true in positions in the city government. The Anglos must feel that a dark skinned person would stand out too much. It is this subtle discrimination that we are trying to eliminate.

Chairman: In 1954, Tucson voluntarily integrated Negro teachers. They are in practically all our schools now.

NAACP: I found ethnic concentration in a number of Tucson elementary schools a few years ago. And this spring, I asked the school officials in Corpus Christi, Texas, for the number of Anglos, Mexican Americans and Negroes in each school. The superintendents said the system kept records based on Negro and non-Negro only, because the Mexican Americans wanted to be classified with Anglos rather than with Negroes. Even though the records are very evasive, the reality of the situation is that the Anglo community does not accept the Mexican American community as equal. Truthfully, there is a three-way classification by school officials.

Economic Poverty

Cherokee: One large segment of the psycho-social processes has received too little attention, especially in my area of Eastern Oklahoma. This is the family effects of being

extremely poor. It sometimes inhibits the child's ability to receive information in the classrooms, and later to use it as a building block for knowledge and wisdom.

There are certain beliefs prevalent among poor people that tend to bias all the learning experiences of both children and adults. Many times these beliefs are untrue. Nonetheless, they are, to the poor, as real as Mother Earth herself.

What are these beliefs and/or values? I have experienced them both as a poor child from a minority group and later, as an educator. They will be presented at random, in the hope they will inspire creative suggestions on how we might counteract the effects they have on our children's ability to learn.

1. "Educators are in a higher social class and cannot, or are not willing to do, come down to their level in order to help them learn." This attitude leads to the child's refusal to actively and wholeheartedly seek help, for fear of being shamed.

2. "Middle-class Americans resent welfare recipients. Those who do not receive welfare are natural enemies of those who do."

3. "Educators 'know it all.' It is useless to suggest ways of improving educational methods to teachers and administrators."

4. "All middle-class Americans have it made. They do not have to worry about financial problems." This myth widens the communications gap, especially when the problem revolves around a lack of money.

5. "Educators, especially administrators, are tyrants. Cooperation with them can only lead to a subservient relationship." This is especially true when the parent attended the same school under the same teachers as do their children.

6. "The only way to establish ourselves as equals to Anglos is to resist all efforts to have us conform." When this happens, our being punished serves as a badge of honor.

7. "The children from well-to-do homes are the teacher's pets. They will receive the best deal from school regardless of the abilities of the poor children."

8. "Schools are designed to benefit middle and upper-class students more than poor people." This feeling is reinforced by such fees as for band, lunch, workbooks, special clothing, lab etc.

These are only a few of the impressions that bias the opinions of those forced to live in an America so little understood by the majority, the America of the Poverty Stricken. It is hard for WASPS to believe that in 1968 there are people who have beliefs such as these. But if they doubt this, they are burying their heads in the sand.

Some of us say that it is the counselor's job to worry about this kind of problem. I don't think that this is true. It also is our universities' problem because they prepare the teacher. It also is the administrators' problem because they determine what positions are needed. *It is everyone's problem* who claims to be an educator.

Poverty is not just an economic condition. It starts as an economic condition. But as it revolves from year to year, it affects more and more of the psycho-social processes. It is not enough now to just find jobs for the poor. After curing the economic disease, we also must nurse them back to psycho-social health. Our schools were not set up for educating both middle and extreme classes and cultural groups. They were early committed to educating the great middle-class. They have not changed their commitment yet.

Agency: Education is a stepping stone to earning power and sharing in the broader culture. Yet minorities cannot always avail themselves of it. I come from Mora County, New Mexico. Of the nation's thousands of counties, it is the 38th poorest. There, adults pressure the student to get through school as fast as possible. Learning is an ordeal. Students don't participate in extracurricular activities. Unfortunately, they never see the long range view. Earning money immediately seems more important than formal education.

In the area nearest the Mexican border, where migrants have been here for only shorter periods than in the north, there is a feeling that teachers are superior to migrant adults and pupils. This feeling gradually diminishes as you travel farther north.

Cherokee: All too often we choose to believe that students from different cultures don't possess the ability to understand. In reality, they do understand. But then they combine this information with home-taught values. Some of these values are directly linked to the culture of the family as it evolved through the ages. When they are asked to relay the information, it doesn't come out the same. However, I would like to confine my remarks to the values that formed specifically because a family is poor. All the Indians in Oklahoma know extreme poverty. I don't believe our problems involve education, nor culture, but this state of destitution.

NAACP: Parents feel schools are designed to benefit the middle and upper-class students more than poor students. The public school systems continue to organize and function on the basis of color and class. The system does not intend to educate minority group children, whether they be Negro or Hispanic. The educational structure is *not* designed to educate children to be part of the total society. This is different from housing patterns, or other areas. And the schooling fixes lifetime status.

Provincialism and Deprivation

NAACP: Will Anglos have a higher regard for Spanish language as long as Mexican American children are in lower-status schools?

Pueblo: Of course not. We can see these ethnic pressures operate even in the exceptional cases. My daughter is one such unusual school success. Recently she was initiated into her chapter of the National Honor Society. Many a proud parent would no doubt congratulate her and pursue the issue no further. However, I also am concerned and interested in the education and success of many other Indian students.

Consequently, I began to analyze the reasons behind her success. Her personal aspirations and initiatives deserve much credit. But sociological circumstances also contributed toward the success. Her mother and I knew the value of education, so we gave encouragement, stimulus and guidance. We also were able to suggest from experience and to assist in charting her future goals. We could debate with her the problems and activities of her school in the same terms as her teachers did.

Secondly, unlike many minority students, she had needed information available, since her family was more similar to Anglo middle-class. A public library was two or three blocks from her home. A daily newspaper came each morning. A weekly news magazine also is available, as well as teen age level and other magazines. Travel throughout the country and a wide variety of experiences have helped broaden her outlook.

These resources are not available to the Indian student on a reservation. Magazines and newspapers may be in the school library. But when one has no other time to study while reference materials are available, luxury reading has to take second priority. There are no buses returning from the reservations after school to allow students to use the library or consult with teachers.

So much for problems of Indian children up to the high school level. Recently, as the Pueblo Education Committee began to visit the various colleges in New Mexico, we began to observe a pattern of Indian student problems. Many problems are, of course, due merely to youth. However, the problems

deriving from the disadvantaged environment and background contribute a major share of the problems of Indian college students.

Some of the problems of the students result from poor study habits, inability to take class lecture notes and limited vocabulary. These problems further contribute to incompetence in essay-type examinations. Resultant poor grades could lead to lack of interest, motivation, goals, or challenge. And, ultimately, past failures cause mental blockage during tests. So the cycle completes itself.

COSAW: In the Southwest we have a peculiar situation regarding population areas. Much of our land is owned by the state and federal governments. This lowers the tax base. There is almost no industrial base. Rio Arriba County where I work has approximately 6,000 square miles. This is as large as the entire state of Rhode Island, Delaware or Connecticut. Transportation problems are very real. My school needs a bus with power enough to get up and down mountain passes. But my church authorities are in the flatlands of Ohio. They are so remote as not to understand many local problems.

There are several factors common to all groups in the Southwest: poverty, discrimination, poor educational opportunities and lack of a stimulating training environment.

But we cannot put all Indians in one category. The same applies to Spanish American people! The people in northern New Mexico have different problems than those in southern California, Texas or Arizona. We also must separately consider the Spanish Americans in the large cities in the Midwest and Northwest. The "Spanish" group in the Eastern section of the United States bears further distinctions. Therefore, the U.S.A. must develop a real human concern for the individual, his rights and his right to be different.

Forum: Disunity among minority groups often is caused by lack of communication. We've wondered why the Indians and Spanish couldn't get together in New Mexico. Together they could be a powerful political group. The answer is outside decisiveness. Years ago, for example, the BIA may have caused fear among the Indians by claiming the Spanish were taking their land. This was purely a myth. These people had lived side by side for 300 years without too much difficulty. I wonder if it isn't just such lack of communication in Phoenix that causes similar fears.

NAACP: How much of this do you think is based on economic competition? I'm speaking of class status in American society for the Mexican American and Negro.

Chairman: Much of that rivalry ultimately is economic. It also affected politics. The American Indian had no vote in New Mexico until 1954. Till then, there was no way to make him join a group.

Chairman: Mr. Sando [Pueblo] asked us why minority groups don't produce social/behavioral scientists.

NAACP: Becoming a lawyer seems much more relevant to a Negro community. The behavioral scientist is much more removed from day-to-day problems.

Agency: There's little relationship between our communities and the business world as such. We don't have many physical scientists such as mathematicians or chemists in the Mexican American communities. Neither do we have many economists or business administrators. Certainly we have very few advanced students who enter the behavioral sciences.

Chairman: Undoubtedly, economic demands and status spur a person's choice of vocation. It's not part of Spanish American or American Indian tradition to go into such fields as mathematics. They are not cognizant of the role of a mathematician.

NAACP: Also, school systems make minority group children consistent underachievers. And they progressively become worse. By the time the underachiever reaches the seventh grade, it becomes meaningless to talk about entering *any* professional field. Because of the inadequacy of the education he may have received, he will never get out of the bind. This is true if there is a tracking ("streaming") system. It is also true if there is homogeneous grouping of all abilities at the junior or senior high school level.

Chairman: Spanish American and American Indians traditionally seem to have a lot of difficulty in the area of mathematics and English.

Agency: Could this be a further reason for their lack of behavioral scientists? This field probably requires much articulation.

COSAW: Yes, but isn't there another economic factor here? In many of these communities, even four years of college has been a financial hardship. If they endure study till then, they need an immediate financial return. Consequently, they don't go on to graduate study.

Agency: They could always work on a master's degree during the summer. In New Mexico universities, a high percentage do this. It's harder to do so in other areas.

Chairman: Social science positions for the minority groups always were rather limited in the past. Today, such earning opportunities are available.

Pueblo: I have a friend teaching physics at a nearby university. During all the years he has been teaching, only one Spanish and one Navajo boy finished their master's.

NAACP: And there's been only one in my home area. The system of being knocked down proceeds from grades one through six. By the time the child gets to grade six in a segregated school, he is locked in, bitter in both attitude and theory. The basic problem is inadequate elementary school education. When he gets to high school, it's too late. The system offers no corrective measure.The deprived pupil is kept ignorant.

The Nature of Assimilation

LULAC: Very little is known about the dynamics of assimilation and transculturation. How are the lives of the youngsters living within two cultural areas influenced socially, psychologically and personality-wise? Nor is much known about how a person adjusts to two cultures, permitting greater social mobility, participation, and acceptance. Melville J. Herskovits [e.g., 1948 — H.G.B.] relates the anthropological concept of acculturation. He feels that amazing social changes result from continuous contact of two or more cultures causing a two-way exchange of customs. Such exchanges may be undirected and left to chance, or they may be directed toward definite goals and objectives.

In every Southwestern hamlet, village, town and city, for more than a century, just such a rubbing of elbows between American and Mexican culture has taken place. Art, music, religion, architecture, clothing, language, ideas and attitudes, *have* been influenced, perhaps directly. Nevertheless, they continued to provide cultural fulfillment to their members. The cultural traits representative of the Mexican area school are varied and sporadic. Their school utilization depends upon the interest, as well as the experience and preparation of the administrator and teaching personnel.

Agency: In the Southwest, we might advocate a more complete cultural pluralism of the Spanish-speaking groups. In the border areas, like in Northern New Mexico, it is Anglos who are very often the minority group. There, educational leaders could help prevent friction regarding English instruction within the Spanish community. The conservatism of the Mexican American in border areas is heightened by Mexico's proximity to the United States. Mexicans in this country have family ties right across the border. By contrast, there isn't a Germany adjacent to Pennsylvania, nor a Norway

next to Minnesota. Therefore it is more difficult for a Mexican to break his ties than it is for an immigrant from Europe.

Chairman: A second-generation German can easily become an American. *But a Mexican can't become an American in the second generation.* Unless you change the criteria of the larger American culture, how can you maneuver the education? Middle-class education is geared to middle-class ways of doing business. You can't buck one without the other.

Of course, the American school systems also tend to educate people to the Anglo-American standard. They want everyone to be a "good middle-class American." Since Mexican Americans cannot easily do so, I can see ambivalence there.

Pueblo: In Colorado or Texas, a Spanish speaking person must often Americanize his name to make acceptance less difficult. Is New Mexico as bad?

Forum: It depends on the social group too. There seems to be two classes of Anglos around Phoenix. There are "Confederate" Southerners who moved there after the Civil War. Their attitudes are ingrained. The other group is the Mormons.

Now, these "Reconstruction" migrants in the Southern states don't care to have the Indians join them. However, the Mormons welcome Indians who care to join.

Pueblo: This push-pull causes the Arizona Indians to have a hard time remaining Indians. They must hide the fact that they're Indians until they are on the reservation. They wonder how we in New Mexico can be so openly proud that we're Indian.

COSAW: These attitudes are formed by training. Probably as an educator, I tend to overemphasize the role of education in developing them. Unfortunately, past educational programs have perpetuated the Anglo-American social standards at the expense of the minority groups. In recent years we've all become familiar with such terms as Head Start, team-teaching, non-graded schools, and culturally orientated history courses. However, these big ideas may not have reached the local remote teacher yet.

Cherokee: Only in the last few years has America become extremely conscious of its minority groups. Now it is taking great strides towards finding more and better ways to help them achieve greater benefit from their exposure to the educational process.

Many dreams of progressive educators *have* become a reality in recent years. Methods, materials and the freedom to experiment have become available to these progressive educators. They arise mainly through grants from the federal government. As a result, we find new words, phrases and positions in common acceptance, whereby 10 years ago they were merely hopes, never vocalized for fear of ridicule.

It is not uncommon today to hear such words as team-teaching, modules, interaction, cultural factors, bilingual education. These terms float through the ivy-covered windows of our educational institutions. Many significant breakthroughs *have* been accomplished.

Pueblo: But an assumption still underlying the effort of the non-Indian in behalf of the American Indians is that the best things the non-Indians can do *for* the Indians is to educate them to *fit* into the mainstream of American society. The amount of pressure applied toward this goal has varied with each change of administration in Washington. But the underlying strategy has effected a negative regard by the Indians toward *any* new proposals.

The problem of educating Indian people has existed many years. Other problems, however, have been recognized more recently. These problems further augment the original or older problems. Indian education is like a snowball: Any new problems discovered also add to the "Indian problem," and the snowball keeps growing.

How may some of these problems be solved? Notice that men volunteer for war when *their* country is affected. Similarly the problem of education of the Indian people should be attacked in cooperation with the Indian leaders and the Indian people. Then we would become motivated. The same idea was expressed by U.S. Vice President Hubert Humprey at the Navajo Nation at Window Rock in the fall of 1967: "Government programs imposed from the outside, without local involvement, are doomed to failure even though they may be well intentioned."

Last January, the Education Committee of our All Indian Pueblo Council sponsored a conference. The Chairman insisted that ". . . the education program must be a visible, growing product of the Indian People's own efforts, drawing from the existing culture for point, form and direction. [Indians'] non-participation in the formulation of an education program would only serve as a vehicle to a journey into confusion and frustration." This state of confusion of our Indian people follows individuals' losing their identity. They are consequently of little use.

Indian tribes differ in needs. If each tribe were dealt with individually and participatively, as one does with an individual *Anglo* community, the problems affecting the particular group would be more ably identified, discussed and possibly eliminated.

The Power Structure

NAACP: The U. S. Commission on Civil Rights recently reported that all of the compensatory programs it had examined appeared unsuccessful in upgrading achievement levels of the involved children [cf. Freeman 1968 – H.G.B.]. Even effective compensatory programs cannot undo the regular 8:30 to 3:30 school programs. These programs will go on being ineffective if the children must continue their schooling in the same segregated, unequal and neglected school. They also will be ineffective if the school is staffed by teachers and administrators who believe that these children, because of their racial differences, are not capable of learning. Consequently, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People wants a revision of "compensatory education programs." When I speak about restructuring the educational programs, I'm talking about the regular school programs. It is they that prevent compensation. They are based on status. School officials in Tucson, for example, conceded that some schools were composed "mostly" of Negro and Mexican American children. We're not talking about how the Census Bureau classifies Mexican Americans – "white" or "non-white." The community standing of these schools is simply of lower status. All children, including Anglos, ultimately suffer from a status system based on color and national origin.

If normal, or average, children are not achieving grade level, the *school should be held accountable* for their failure. This is what I meant when I said we are calling for a restructing of the public schools. This applies to beliefs, assumptions, attitudes and expectations, and not merely physical arrangment.

These schools are almost criminally inadequate for children with such social diability. The schools need removing as much as the children need removing!

Compensatory programs don't change the basic inadequacies or the low standards of the regular school program. The teacher does not change her expectation of the pupil's low achievement.

Forum: The more I teach, the more I believe we need a restructuring into a single school system. It would have to accommodate the special needs and circumstances of all areas and groups of people.

COSAW: This is what I'm getting at when I suggest 14 years instead 12 years of education. What is magic about 12 years? Perhaps 9, 10 or 15 would be better. In such a system, the child, regardless of color or race, could progress at his own pace to reach a specified goal. If a child's parents taught him to read at the age of four, he might progress faster than other children. If there was no reading material and a child's parents never read at home, it might take longer. Maybe the child could catch up, but there would be no stigma attached to reading later. If we could get away from the junior and senior high school set-up, and work at an *ungraded* program, we could progress. Today's difficulty may trace more to the teacher attitude than anything else.

Cherokee: I've never seen a school board yet that even acknowledged that it has a problem with ethnic or social groups, nor would they set up their system to help these people. They support the same old stereotyped middle-class Caucasian American type of education, with middle-class Caucasian values. When they absolutely must take a good look at a real social problem, they call in the state education department, or even the federal government, to correct it.

Navajo: The Navajos have a complete enough population and reservation that the special-structure problem cannot be hidden. Additional on-reservation facilities for Navajo youth is imperative. The reservation is a cherished area to the Navajo people. It is the locus of both traditional and modern techniques for living. The traditional mode of life does not preclude facilities for learning new ways for oneself and family. No clearer illustration of the willingness of educational systems to respect the dignity, and honor the desires, of Indian people may be had than in what is done to provide educational facilities on the reservation. Their presence anywhere bespeaks respect for people as people. Their absence anywhere indicates a fundmental lack of confidence in and respect for Indian people. The recent erection of the first Bureau of Indian Affairs on-reservation secondary school [at Many Farms, Arizona] is a step in the right direction. The newly announced establishment of the tribal junior college will provide post-high school educational opportunities for the first time here at home. Navajos manage it; this *is* school restructuring.

School Boards

Chairman: If the larger society, the power structure, controls the school system, what can be done in community relations with schools? How can ethnic representative on school boards be increased?

This may not be a problem in certain Spanish American communities, for the whole population, including the board, is Spanish American. However, it is a real problem among Amerindians.

Navajo: The Navajo people at Rough Rock have had success in operating their own school. For Navajo education elsewhere and all-Indian education, our success makes us favor the extension of certain principles. Most important to improvement in Indian education is the concept of local control. Envisioned is the actual control of educational facilities by their local communities. The persons exercising such jurisdiction should not be merely innocuous "Uncle Tom" window dressing to be dusted off and prominently displayed whenever a dignitary visits the school. Rather, they should be *people who are constantly involved in the continuous operation of their school.*

Divisions of authority and responsibility between the governing board of a school and its administration are necessary. But they must result from the prerogatives of the local board, and be amenable to modification by them. Exploitation of mere quaintaness is to be abhorred. Local control means actual, effective control of the local school by its clientele.

Forum: Our Forum accepts the same idea for a local school board such as here in Albuquerque.

LULAC (local): Our League also has several plans. In the last regular session of the New Mexico legislature, we introduced a localization bill to the district school board. It failed the Senate by one vote, with most of the opposition coming from the Anglo area. Recently, the teachers struck. Now the Anglos too are becoming interested in decentralization! They will consider "districting" the school boards. Therefore we want candidates whose *policies* represent our areas. We are not particularly interested in their ethnicities as such.

LULAC (local): Several school boards we have analyzed are found to consist of people from the "country-club set." Most of them are old pioneer families. But other areas, especially the ethnic-occupied areas, have no representation.

Yet most Spanish Americans are good at politics. The trouble is that they are not partisan. If we could enlist their interest, we might do well. In this connection, I note that a Mexican American legal defense fund was created a few days ago by the Ford Foundation. We hope that this grant may be used in the legal problems of more fairly districting school boards.

We and many other groups have collected evidence about anti-ethnic actions by (Anglo-dominated) school boards. One local high school, for example, has a student body that is predominantly Negro and Spanish American. By having gerrymandered school territories, it perpetuates segregation. Now, there are Anglos living close enough to Albuquerque High School to throw a rock at it. But *they* are districted to a better-staffed Anglo school. From many such experiences, LULAC has been led to propose balancing school boards for ethnic representativeness.

Navajo: Even the nation's few experimental activities are far too few. For Navajos, a school system should be instituted in which actual, effective control is *local*, as it is now at Rough Rock [Johnson 1968]. Such a group of schools throughout our reservation will, by their very being, give an incalculable impetus to the Navajo people to assume their proper role in education. [Cf. Educational Consultant Services 1968.]

NAACP: "School boards" are only one part of the academic structure. We would like Negroes included also on all policy making boards of the public school system, textbook selection committees, teacher committees that make decision regarding curriculum and student participation, etc.

Agency: But we need not tie ourselves down to specific numbers for members of each ethnic group -- especially in the teaching area. I don't think it's wise to focus efforts on obtaining majorities. And a college degree doesn't insure the greatest interest in a profession, either.

In statewide systems of public instruction and a board of regents there will always be representation for minority groups for good politics.Thus, the University of New Mexico probably has one or more Spanish-surname leaders on its boards. But I'd like to find out the nature of the selection of faculty on the test committee, the library committee or other more subtle committees!

Pueblo: Dr. Burger asked how we could get school boards to increase ethnic representation. Here's one way: Pueblos have just completed installing *advisory* school boards to teach Indian villages.

Spanish surnames dominated the school boards heretofore. This is the first chance we Indians have had. We are trying to enlighten our people regarding the problems of the school boards. All these years, we have been told what to do. In January 1968, however, we had an education conference where we told the world what we want and what we want to do. President Johnson had said that the people must decide for

themselves. Consequently, Secretary of the Interior Udall told the BIA to let us Pueblos set up our own school boards. At Laguna [New Mexico] public school it's virtually completely Indian. However, they're controlled by the Grants [New Mexico] authorities. We have asked the Espanola school board to let these Indians come in and tell of their needs, since they can't vote. In Bernalillo, there are three or four Indian villages. The villagers attend meetings. Local control should also involve the Navajo (or other tribes') people in policy making and planning for the further development of their own school system. *Education is too important to be left to the professionals.* The educational future of a reservation group is not something that should, or can, be imposed on an impassive mass of people. It's a matter of utmost concern to the well being of every Indian. The group can no longer avoid school board responsibility.

LULAC: The same outside imposition plagues Mexican Americans. In the glamorous jobs, like commissions and boards, we are not represented. I supported the candidacy of a well qualified superintendent of a school district south of Albuquerque. It was for a position on the Board of Regents, University of New Mexico, vacated by a death. The governor told us we were doing well in the advocacy. We got together with our Indian brother to support this candidate. We agreed that we are going to nominate an Indian for the very next opening anywhere in the state. We didn't win, but the two groups demonstrated unity. There is still not one Indian on a Board of Regents in New Mexico. LULAC will support such a candidate. The same WASPism applies to the water commissions, land commissions and many boards of education. The same board has ruled a major New Mexico school district since the territory entered U.S.A. in 1912.

In Phoenix, we must deal with 13 separate elementary school districts when we want to start a program for Mexican American students. Shouldn't we have a few Mexican Americans on these school boards? We also have the problem of the monolingual student recently from Mexico. Twenty-five percent of the population of Phoenix is Mexican Americans. Programs developed at the upper echelons and filter down. Their funding is not realistic. Many Hispanics were excluded from the English-oriented War on Poverty. We told Mr. Ximenes about our fight with the local administration to help us design the program for the excluded pupils. This plea met with some success, and we are experimenting with more programs.

Agency: Well, you certainly dramatize the minority group's status. It may not improve the education, but it points up the fact that the group is somehow special, or different. In northern New Mexico, people are quite excited about this. They say that things could improve. They are much better than 10 years ago.

Forum: Central New Mexico boards aren't normally representative of the Spanish or other groups here. A small number of voters choose the Chamber of Commerce and country club segments. The majority of the population is left out.

NAACP: What is the percentage of Spanish/Mexican Americans among the general adult population?

LULAC: It's about one-third. But many of them don't vote. It's about the same statewide. Therefore, we are trying to do something about the school systems. They were heavily BIA-oriented. The only election in which they would vote would be a U.S. Presidency. This interest was due to the fact that he could appoint the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. They were not interested in the county commission or the county sheriff. Now they are becoming aware of the county's importance in the state, and even vote for the governor. He comes to our meetings. There are 90 school systems in the state. Thirty are schools attended by Indian students. You'd be surprised at the percentage of Johnson O'Malley Act money paid for the salaries of teachers with Indian students in their classes. If you have Indian students in your class, their supplementary allowances could "buy a Cadillac!"

Forum: Schools in the Spanish and Indian communities in New Mexico should be real community centers. I remember, as a child, that school seemed a sort of "sacred cow." Only children familiar with it dared approach. Once summer came, it was locked and boarded up. The school should serve as an adult training center, offering night classes and vocational courses.

NAACP: Increased parental participation in the communities is absolutely critical. However, it should not be through the traditional Parent-Teacher association which is very often dominated by public school administrators. Parents should actually participate in decision making regarding their children's education. One school in New York City is emerging as a model of such partnership, Public School 192 in Harlem.

Chairman: Is there a parent-child consultation?

NAACP: The parents are very active in that school. Therefore, they do not feel that the system is excluding them.

Navajo: Parental interest affects child attendance. Great strides have been made in recent years in getting and keeping children in Navajo schools. Yet some parents still refuse to permit their children to attend school. The personal tragedies of young adults severely handicapped by lack of education on almost any reservation community today points up past errors of playing hookey. These neglects must not be repeated. Continuing persuasive campaign to get Indian children in school must be maintained through the entire school year. It requires desirable attitudes toward the school by the clientele it wishes to serve. A bit more *competition between schools* could give the needed fillip to the situation. There is too much complacency on the part of many school officials. They have "their" children all sewed up through exclusive territories and are not interested in other children.

Also there needs to be recourse to legal pressure to force children into (reservation) school if all else fails. The consequences of inattendance should be so grave and long-lasting that we Navajos can justify compulsion in obdurate cases.

Teacher Training

Forum: All of us were at some time exposed to teachers hostile toward us mainly because they didn't understand us. A child senses when a teacher is sympathetic! My own first day of school in our little New Mexican village, years ago, is still vivid. I, a non-English-speaking child, was introduced to a teacher who could not speak a word of Spanish. We had great communication trouble. I've borne in mind the need for tolerance as a result. And for many years now, *I've* been teaching mostly Spanish and Indian children. I feel that any teachers who are hired to serve Indian and Spanish-speaking groups in the Southwest should be chosen very carefully. There should also be a period of practical preparation. This is especially true when hiring out-of-state teachers. Preparation should not be just two weeks at a university workshop. I think more of visiting villages and homes of these children to learn their problems, their religious beliefs and their cultural background. For instance, Albuquerque has a teacher preparation program. It takes teachers on a tour of the city's industrial facilities, the university and business. But why couldn't they take them back into those areas of town where the majority of the Spanish-speaking people live? They should also take them into court to see the problems these people face!

In recommending teacher visits to student homes, I'm taking the liberty of speaking also for the Indian groups, because, as Mr. Sando [Pueblo] mentioned, there is a very strong kinship between the Pueblos and the Spanish-speaking people.

Our education could also be geared to a more practical approach. I draw on my personal experience. I had some very excellent teachers, but their whole background was very remote. When I started school in my little native farming village all our courses were very academic: history, English, science etc. I often wondered if they would teach agriculture, which was most primitive in our area and needed help. I started school in one of those very unique situations in upper New Mexico. We really had public schools run by Catholic sisters. These women were from a different background and culture. Their approach was strictly that of the regions from which they came: Ohio, Pennsylvania etc. These were the days when the county began to establish schools. But they had no qualified teachers. So, these very dedicated Sisters who had been teaching us were incorporated into the county school system.

Pueblo: I want to comment about the dedicated teacher. I met some Head Start teachers and went to the classroom with them. There was a dedicated professor of education teaching in the oldest classroom on the campus. Her desk was a four-by-two foot army desk. For chairs there were a number of crates that children were supposed to sit on. She was preaching about not needing modern things to teachers who also probably didn't care about raises or new buildings. Now, aren't these teachers encouraging a "don't care" attitude in their students? I wouldn't want my children to go to some of the old classrooms dating to the late 1800's that the Navajo children must attend.

COSAW: Two basic problems are money and attitudes. We need money to pay better trained teachers, teachers who understand the culture, language and poverty of the group. A few weeks' orientation for these teachers would be a help, but only as a stopgap measure. It should be lengthier. We must convince school boards that we need teachers who care for the children as individuals. They must not be overloaded with students if they are to deal with the problems of language, culture and poverty. Children need adults they can look up to for guidance. They also need to be taught English and Spanish at the lower grade levels. Kindergartens operated on a year-round basis by the local schools are necessary.

Forum: It goes back to the teacher training institute. I think any practicing teacher can tell you bluntly, "It stinks!" There are professors in colleges who wouldn't last 45 minutes in a primary classroom. They never had to teach problem children or go out in the backwaters to teach. Most teachers are very disgusted with the unrealistic training they receive. They know nothing of the situation that will confront them in the classroom. I think our minority groups could initiate a realistic training program, and thereby do the whole United States a great service.

COSAW: Mr. Keen [Cherokee] mentioned he thought teachers should be dedicated in the same sense as a minister. I consider this idea important.

Cherokee: The teacher must be made aware that he will be faced with 40 to 50 children in a classroom. Some children may have IQ's as low as 50. Some have drunken parents. Some don't know who their parents are. Somewhere along the line we must insert the thought that teaching is a personal thing, not just a vocation, earning a living. Like a minister, he should believe in his job.

Chairman: The most important thing then is the teacher. In addition to being properly trained, he must have the right reading materials and equipment and skills necessary to proper teaching.

Cherokee: Yet, we find all kinds of people studying to be teachers. They manage to get their degrees without much grading or weeding out and very little challenge. Many people have a romantic idea about teaching; high school students walk all over them, and rule the teacher. Even a person on the road to alcoholism can become a teacher. By contrast, other professions, such as medicine and law, have ways of grading and weeding out underdesirables.

NAACP: I agree with Mr. Keen [Cherokee] that teacher training should be more strict. We have teachers instructing in Negro history who have no knowledge of it. There are reading teachers and reading specialists with no training. So there should be *higher financial reward to attract quality.* The whole teacher training institution in America should be re-examined and restructured.

Forum: Training is full of courses dealing in generalities. But perhaps there should be more emphasis on reading the lower grades, and remedial reading later on. Yet I don't have the necessary background and training for this. How should we prepare reading specialists?

NAACP: I am not a reading specialist myself. I've asked reading specialists that question. They tell me that no one method is better than another. It's what's behind the method that is important — the intangibles such as teacher dedication.

Harlem's Public School 192, mentioned earlier, has 50% Negro and 50% Spanish-speaking pupils. The Spanish-speaking pupils are from Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Venezuela, Costa Rica and other Latin American countries. The pupils are culturally disadvantaged and deeply deprived. If a child is not achieving, the question is asked, "What does this child need that we're not giving him?" Educational needs are not denied. His family instability is not blamed. Neither is his lack of cultural pursuits blamed. The responsibility for achievement is *not placed on the child.*

We believe emphasis should be placed on reading and remedial reading. Monies from Title I programs might be used to better advantage to train teachers of reading. More reading is needed in the lower grades and remedial reading is needed in the upper grades. It's an impossibility to recruit the needed number of remedial reading specialists. It's a national scandal that anyone can nevertheless obtain a teaching certificate in America without ever training in teaching of reading.

Next, we would urge required teacher training and administrators training programs at the elementary and secondary school levels. Administrators sometimes need this training more than teachers. We do not recommend voluntary training programs because they pre-select the few who are already skilled. Training must tell teachers how to incorporate history of the Negro and other minority groups into American history. New programs should be developed for teacher training institutions. Teachers of white children only are not prepared to teach Negro children and other minority group children.

The universities could begin the healing process by offering and requiring *meaningful psychology classes in place of the rat maze type* that is now required. They might also teach how to deal with these problems instead of preaching that a teacher should never admit to not knowing.

Cherokee: Universities might also devise a clinic, similar to speech and hearing clinics, to study and work with students who supposedly have low IQ's. Our universities must recognize that the teachers will be required to work with children who have a wide range of learning capabilities.

Administrators could give further momentum by devising means to overcome these problems.

School boards could go a long way towards solving the problem by employing educational social workers.

COSAW: If Public School 192 has 41 students per class, how can it give individual instruction with so many students?

NAACP: Well, there may be up to four adults present per room at a time. There is a teacher with an assistant teacher, or sometimes a parent to assist.
COSAW: A teacher cannot be successful if she's put in an impossible situation with 45 or 50 youngsters. By employing other adults, as that Harlem School does, even if they are not certified teachers, the plan can be successful.
NAACP: Reading and arithmetic were two academic areas measured in that underprivileged school. The principal says achievement levels are found consistent in all areas, but *highest* in these two!

Guidance

Forum: Besides regular teachers, ethnic schools find a very strong need for a more adequate counseling program. Students should be made aware of the government grants, loans and scholarships that are available to them for furthering their educations. You can't provide this service with one counselor to 500 children!
LULAC: The English and Spanish try to pressure each other, and this should be a matter of concern to teachers and administrators. Educational leaders should guide and direct Mexican American youth in the bicultural aspects of their future lives. Our schools should try to adapt them to a smoother transition in the processes of acculturation, diffusion and assimilation within the existing educational objectives.
NAACP: We also urge a revision of vocational and educational counseling programs. We need in-service training programs for present counselors, as well as needed additional counselors in the school system. Students should be counselled by unprejudiced counselors. They deserve an objective appraisal of their abilities and of new opportunities.
Pueblo: The majority of Indian parents are unprepared to counsel their children in education. So it is only natural that Indian students need more attention from guidance counselors. The truth is that there is a ratio of 500 students to one counselor in our public schools of New Mexico today.

Instilling Ethnic Pride

Chairman: What are the effects of some of the new informal teaching organizations, such as church-situated classes, tutoring by college students, and ethnic-heritage enrichment classes?

Perhaps we can comment on the idea of giving students the history of their ethnic group. This would enhance their background. But we must be aware of the possible danger of creating a feeling of a super-ethnic group.
Forum: There has been a great deal of development of language and history books for the minority. Somehow, they haven't filtered down to the classroom. A lot of our classrooms are still using "Dick and Jane" books. These are cute little reading books, full of (Anglo) legends, myths and fairytales. Yet schools should be using books that teach real values, and teach about real people in real life situations. I have yet to see in my hands a book which presents the Spanish historical approach to the development of the U.S. All our books begin with the settlement of the colonies in the East, but no mention is made of the colonies in the Southwest. Therefore, our children grew up with an inferiority complex.
LULAC: If the Mexican American is to retrieve his dignity, he must acknowledge that he is a person with ethnic antecedents who contributed many great things to civilization. Pride must be instilled in him so that he will stop running away from himself and instead will find a true expression in living.

He must not seek security in isolation and segregation, which in turn causes him to suffer economically. Because he lives in two cultural worlds, he cannot accept the usual school educational programs, teaching methods and evaluation techniques.

We can compare the Negro and Japanese Americans with Mexican Americans. They are quite alike insofar as their ethnic and socio-economic acceptibility is concerned. They have helped themselves by becoming realistically aware of their non-acceptance by American society. They are finding personal dignity in their work, and also in their ethnical background and culture. Their groups became more valuable in our democracy when they included education as a profession for them. They had to sacrifice by becoming ethnically integrated and assimilated.
NAACP: Along this line, NAACP urges curriculum of all schools include the true part Negroes and other minority groups played in American history. Negro and Anglo students alike should be exposed to unprejudiced versions of our history.

We urge re-examination of all textbooks including history and social studies texts for elementary through secondary grades. Those books pretend that we live in an all-white community, in an all-white state or an all-white nation. Replace them with textbooks that show we are a multi-racial, multi-color society! We prepared an annotated list of 399 multi-racial textbooks for elementary schools (National Association 1967). It includes social studies, history, arithmetic, mathematics, English, health, music, reading, spelling, science and story books. From time to time we receive requests for Hispanic and Indian children. While at a loss to suggest textbooks, we did name some partial sources. These multi-racial texts should be used by all children, not only minority groups.
Pueblo: Many of you have said that one of the needs of your group is for classroom teaching of culture, and even your language. Being a unique group, the Pueblo Indians do not feel such a need, however. In the Pueblo system, the learning of language and culture is the responsibility of the families. Each Pueblo student living in the village generally speaks in the vernacular. And if the student speaks the correct language, he or she is more than likely to have learned the culture or be aware of its customs. Consequently, we would not or could not justify teaching Indian languages or culture in the classroom. An exception would be if the student were a pre-schooler as in Head Start. This pre-schooler would need to communicate in the language in which one was partly familiar. And this would be only until the child has learned to be a student, and begun to learn English as a second language.
Navajo: The curricula still used on the reservation resists change. In addition to what is demonstrably sound in a typical non-Navajo oriented curriculum, the People (the Navajos) would like to add courses in both Navajo culture and history. By making these indigenous subjects an integral part of the curriculum and giving them an importance equal to any other subject, we would accomplish the task of reinforcing a positive self-image and assisting the learners to optimal self-realization. To encourage children to be proud of being a Navajo is not enough. We must show them traits both Navajo and worthy of pride before sincere accomplishment is produced.

Bilingual Teaching

Agency: As federal representative at this ethnic conference, I should comment on the El Paso conference (1967). There, the problems of the Mexican American from five Southwestern states were presented to Secretary John W. Gardner of HEW. The Mexican American representatives presented many of the problems we discussed here today. They tried to arrive at

so'utions to these. They agreed that research programs in bilingual and bicultural education were needed, and that more federal funds could be made available, with the option of using them for educational purposes where the need was the greatest. Yet, where state constitutions provide that only English will be taught in the schools, we are faced with time consuming battles in state legislatures and the Congress on funding programs for bilingual teaching.

LULAC: Spanish is, in some school systems at every possible level of instruction, offered or included as an academic requirement. In the same way, courses in art, music and home economics may or may not be offered. However, school administrators have failed utterly to recognize educational implications of the acculturation process to create a more dynamic and functional curriculum. If we are to consider the community needs to formulate the school program, subjects which are compulsory in Mexico should also be included in the school curriculum serving large numbers of Mexican Americans. This is above and beyond those requirements cited by policies commissions. A set of linguistic books (Miami 1965) was recently introduced in some of our schools. These books originally were prepared for Cubans and Puerto Ricans. I don't believe these are the proper books for our children, who have been exposed to radio, TV and bombarded with English from all sides. They have a bilingual situation, although they may not speak either English or Spanish very well.

We have seen successful bilingual teachers. We are concerned with the methodology being used, and learning programs such as in the educational laboratories. We have a successful demonstration project in a few school areas throughout the state where the migrant is located. Yet funding agencies claim they cannot finance its expansion.

Chairman: Spanish is spoken by a large number of people, so it might be feasible to teach Amerindians first in Spanish and then in English. In the Phillippines, this worked out very well. This might not be feasible for all American Indians, but perhaps it would work out for the Navajos. In the third year English could be introduced.

LULAC: I'm very interested in how teachers view the Mexican American. I attended a bilingual conference in Austin, Texas. There was a first grade class with about 50% Anglo and 50% Mexican American children. They teach every subject in both languages. I watched a Mexican tot lead the class in reciting the Pledge of Allegiance in English. The group then sang the national anthem in Eng'ish. And next, however, a little Anglo girl led the Pledge of Allegiance in perfect Spanish! Everyone applauded.

What does this tell us? It points up the changing, but slowly changing, teacher attitudes toward bilingualism. In my youth, I was punished for speaking Spanish on the playground and in the classroom. Even today, if an Anglo learns to speak Spanish, or perhaps even an Indian language, it's called an achievement, but not vice-versa. It is unexpected that an Anglo should speak fluent Spanish. Anglo-Americans are usually not proficient in more than one language. Yet, it's *expected* that a Spanish American should speak both languages.

In this particular case it was explained that 99% of the Mexican children could not speak English. That school, therefore, wisely puts each child at an equal handicap by requiring him to learn the other language. Language development specialists don't detect any ill effects from the children having to learn a different language.

Chairman: A number of tests have demonstrated that learning two languages, or even three, is not a disadvantage.

NAACP: Calling a language "different" reflects on the values of the system. In the same way "different" children are in contrast to the values of society. In Laredo, Texas, an (Anglo) member of the Junior League, seeing a little blonde girl speaking Spanish, regretted to me that her own child didn't have the opportunity to learn the other language.

Voice: There are many similarly good projects that the public in general does not know about. Yet they must be sold to legislators and the public. Bilingual projects are important. Very few people outside the field know about these. Consequently, I'm glad this conference is to published.

There are 78,000 students in the Albuquerque Public Schools. One third of them are of Spanish descent. However, the school system sent only a single representative to the Texas bilingual conference. The educational laboratories like SWCEL should profit from such experiences of others. Besides finding new techniques, new methods, new materials and new ideas in education, the Laboratories should go out and advocate them.

Chairman: Isn't this a socio-cultural problem? Spanish, or any other language, becomes a handicap only if it is considered inferior to English.

LULAC: Before long, there will be twice as many people speaking Spanish in the Western Hemisphere as there are English speakers. Yet our children are gradually losing their ability to speak Spanish. My friends say I can help correct the problem by teaching them Spanish at home. But I already work 13 hours a day, so this would be very difficult. My child should be able to master the language of his grandparents and his father just as I did.

During World War II, my dad was in the army with the federalized National Guard. He was captured by the Japanese. He wrote a poem to me in Spanish. It became popular here in Albuquerque. One day, I was reciting the poem to my friends on the school playgrounds. The principal heard me. I was spanked for "unpatriotically" reading Spanish at school!

A few years later I was a civics teacher in a high school in the Valley. An official came in my classroom with a group of South Americans. He asked me as a favor to explain our school program *in Spanish.* I agreed, but had to make him promise not to spank me!

Somehow we managed to hold on to a little of our Spanish language even though we were forbidden to speak it in school. Today the educational laboratories are trying to understand our future needs. I think a real effort should be made to save our Spanish language here in the Southwest. Most adults I know speak Spanish, but their children don't. After we have lived side-by-side 300 years with another culture, this loss of our language is very sad.

Chairman: We have to convince the Anglo population that additionally speaking Spanish would be an advantage. After this is accomplished, we must institute Spanish courses that are longer than just a few minutes a day. Thereby the educational system may serve as a bridge from the U.S. southwest to Mexico and Latin-America. Spanish will be the dominant language, but we will not be overwhelmed by it.

LULAC: The anti-Spanish brainwashing mentioned also by Mr. Baca [Forum] caused me to drop out of Arizona State College. Fortunately, I later returned to college and still resisted the Anglo pressures.

Then I did student teaching in a Phoenix ghetto grammar school in the Mexican American area. The administrator happened to be my first Physical Education instructor. He knew some Spanish and was very liberal. I taught the children how to play football, baseball, basketball and soccer. As instructor, I spoke both English and Spanish. For the latter, I was reprimanded by the Physical Education supervisor.

Some time later, a similar use of Spanish caused me to be brought before the administrator. He remembered that I'd told him of sufferings I suffered on school grounds when I'd been a child for the same reason. He said he couldn't see any harm in using the language the children would understand. The PE supervisor was shocked. Fortunately, there are few such

administrators!

Voice: It's common for people (Anglos or otherwise) to refuse to teach their child Spanish until he learns English. This attitude is unjustified because a child can learn two or three languages simultaneously with no problem. I know a family that speaks Spanish, Cochiti [Pueblo] and English. Speaking more than one language seems to give one a fluency in still other languages. One couple I know speak Spanish on certain days to their children, and English on other days. Now the children have decided additionally to learn Greek from some neighbors. They are becoming trilingual with no effort!

Chairman: Is the use of Spanish restricted in New Mexico even on the playground?

Forum: Policy probably depends on the school. I teach in a school that is 95% Spanish. There are no restrictions. I know that American Indians often have been denied the right to speak their native language on the school grounds, even if they can't speak English.

NAACP: At the progressive Harlem school I've often noticed the Spanish speaking children speaking English. They are not punished for this. I've also seen older Spanish speaking children tutoring Negroes *in Spanish.*

Cherokee: Some Indian groups are afraid to speak their native tongue on the school grounds. I've wondered about this and came to the conclusion that they wish to *lose* their identity as Indians. And they fear being punished physically like their parents were if they spoke their native tongue.

Pueblo: Yet, there was a previous Indian commissioner from Minnesota who encouraged students to speak their native tongue. He'd found it gave them a feeling of security.

Forum: I remember when I was principal of an old rural school. One of the teachers asked if I was going to prohibit the use of Spanish in the school. I was amazed. I wanted children to speak *both* English and Spanish well, and replied to that effect. I'd never realized how brainwashed a teacher can become.

As another example of ethnocentrism, I myself had been writing tests where I gave the characters Anglo names like Mr. Jones and Mr. Smith. One day I realized I should be using names of other ethnicities like Mr. Garcia and Mr. Martinez or Indian names. Similarly our textbooks are illustrated with Anglo scenes showing green New England scenes. We should instead be showing Southwestern countryside.

NAACP: Negroes do not have a language problem; they are not bilingual. However, their school humiliations resemble those you describe for the Mexican American child entering school. This attitude must be directed against certain ethnic groups only. Contrast it with European immigrant children with a bilingual problem. For them, the American public school system never thought of a 14 year system! Neither did they attach any stigma to them by calling Europeans "culturally deprived." They simply *went on to educate them.*

Pueblo: Now another problem in bilingualism is the quality of the new language that is offered to the learner. The Indian people recognize the value of models or examples of speech. And if the Indian student is to learn English, we would hope he'd learn English well, grammatically and phonetically. But I keep hearing dissatisfaction because there may be teachers in our Pueblo schools who are teaching English with obvious regional or national accents. The children compound the errors in predictable ways. They develop "barbaralalia." That is the habitual use of the speech sounds and rhythm-melody of a native language when learning to speak another tongue. They also develop "dyslalia." That is defective articulation due to faulty learning as a result of poor models or examples of speech. Like most students for whom English is a second language, Indian students often therefore suffer from barbaralalia and dyslalia. These two examples are not to be confused with functional articulation disorders. However, they have many native cultural implications. These implications may contribute to the obvious attitude of shyness which may emerge from realization of their speech inferiority.

It is also probable that these bilingual problems contribute to the phenomenon called the "cross-over effect." Academic achievement by Indian students is as good as that of the cultural majority for the first few grades of school. Then, somewhere between the fourth and seventh grades, the achievement scores for Indian children "crosses over" on the achievement graph. Now it begins to fall below the national norms. It declines progressively through high school. This "cross-over effect" is nurtured by speech inferiority, which is an adjunct to shyness. These, then, are some problems our children suffer because of the bilingual situation.

Vocational Training

Forum: I hear the word "student dropout" often. I wonder if, instead, the school hasn't dropped out from the child. Consider particularly the academic (theoretical, college directing) program versus a strong vocational program.

For instance, where I teach, there is now a very strong movement towards a vocational curriculum. I have always battled against the contrary idea of college orientation for most of our children. For instance, in Bernalillo (New Mexico) High School 98% of our children are of Spanish and Indian backgrounds. For 85% of them, high school ends their formal education. If they have enrolled in an academic, college-oriented education, they come out of school with a diploma which will have very little meaning to them.

Since the high school has re-adopted a strong vocational program, however, many children have shown renewed interest. Many who would have become "drop-outs" are now continuing. By the time many young boys and girls finish there today, they will *already* have a good position lined up – because they have been trained in a particular vocational skill.

Pueblo: For some time now, the Pueblo leaders, too, have been decrying the lack of technical-vocational schools. At one time, while the Pueblo students were attending Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools, vocational courses were offered. This practice was discontinued about World War II. The prior students, who were fortunate enough to take advantage of this type of education, today have a trade they can depend on. Those who attended college-oriented curriculum schools than and now are not so fortunate. For if they could not go on to attend a college, they find themselves lacking both baccalaureate qualification *and* a trade. Just such young people usually become the problem citizens in the Pueblo villages.

The future looks promising, however. A technical vocational school in Albuquerque is well into the planning stage, and may be under construction soon. Another vocational school, which will be a branch of the Northern New Mexico State school at El Rito has been approved by the State Legislature for construction.

COSAW: Vocational schools should be sited within commuting distance. They should offer up-to-date modern programs. An attitude of academic reponsibility toward vocational training must be developed, or we'll force even non-colleges types into a pre-college program. Those who are university students, by contrast, deserve a specific college preparatory program in the local schools. The program could help a slow student become acquainted with good study habits, how to take notes and how to use the library. His chances of succeeding in college would be much better.

Agency: I think we must question what the student will do later in life. Is the government going to provide better job opportunities? If so, we must have special education programs

to effect the tie-in. But we can't buck the real factor that leads to success, which is the middle-class Anglo way of doing business. One of the points that keeps coming up at the educational seminars I attend is the Mexican American's hesitancy about venturing into non-traditional areas of education. The majority of college graduates in my own New Mexico Highlands University got their degrees in elementary and secondary education. Now, teaching is an honorable profession, but why do they never specialize and come out as economists, physicists or clinical psychologists? Admittedly, these callings might relocate them in bigger cities, and they probably don't want to leave their home area. There seems to be a feeling common to Hispanics to want to do work among their own people only. On such locally oriented attitudes, I've become a devil's advocate with the very agency I represent here today. I advocate that people sometimes need an outsider to teach them the cosmopolitan side of their opportunities!

Employment of Minority Groups

LULAC: The Arizona educational system was trying to impress me with high percentages of Mexican Americans on the school system payroll. I scrutinized its registry. I found that most of the Mexican American employees were in fact cafeteria workers, janitors and one or two secretaries. And they were assigned mostly to Mexican American schools. I pointed out this fact to them. I get this same "equality" myth thrown at me all the time when I seek to broaden civil rights.

The U.S. Veterans Administration similarly boasts that 40% of its employees are of Spanish surnames.

I'd like to see such analyses made by pay grade. I'll bet my paycheck that most of them are janitors or equally depressed in grade.

Agency: The new federal minority employment report (U.S. Civil Service 1967) is out. It is by grade level, agency, state, metropolitan area etc. In the prior report Mexican Americans were badly represented in all categories. In the one year reported by the new survey, the increase is phenomenal. The Mexican American is far behind, but the increase is over 100% in most categories.

In New Mexico, the situation is even better: Spanish Americans hold some 50% of state government jobs and also hold a great many federal government jobs here.

NAACP: Minorities should be wary of the "numbers" game. However, it is time school officials established some flexible percentages for the inclusion of minority groups. This is to end discrimination, not to discriminate. For example, in Phoenix, someone should analyze the number of Mexican Americans and Negroes in administrative and teaching positions. He'd find it insignificant. Also, what is the ethnic concentration at the student and teacher levels of their institute – are they further segregated? We contend that the school officials should be *publicly* color conscious, and ethnic conscious, *to end the discrimination.*

Chairman: We don't have a single Negro faculty member at a major Arizona university.

COSAW: In my community in Northern New Mexico conditions are just the opposite. No one could progress up the administrative ladder without a Spanish surname. Nor could he get onto the school board.

LULAC: Many of our New Mexico educators go to Latin America to help those developing countries improve schooling. However, I believe charity should begin at home. But opportunities don't always exist. Educated Mexican Americans in, say, Arizona, are overlooked when governmental agencies deal with federal programs. Yet we have more qualified Mexican American professional men and women in proportion to population than any other state. California, with the largest Mexican American population, has been unsuccessful in electing a single "Chicano" to the state legislature. But Arizona has five representatives. Mr. Ximenes [Agency Chairman] had his eyes opened when he saw the amount and calibre of talent in Arizona. Joe Flores was just elected our representative from the southern national border; we didn't have Mexican American representation from there. We have talent which is overlooked because we do not have political power. Consequently, the Mexican American problem in Arizona is treated the same as in New Mexico, California or Texas. We may be in a slightly better phase compared to the other states. Operation SER in Arizona is more advanced than in any other of the five Southwestern states. The many programs developed are the greatest, dollarwise.

Agency: Even those people distributing government aid designed specifically for minorities do not seek out representatives of the group they are trying to help. Does the educational laboratories staff have Spanish Americans and other minority groups resembling the populations whose education they are focusing on?

NAACP: There are only three Negroes on the governing board of all 20 educational laboratories.

Agency: Nor are the consultants representative of the ethnicities. Why don't they call more often on people like Dr. Ralph Guzman, Dr. Horacio Ulibarri of the University of New Mexico or Dr. Guido Barrinetos of the University of Texas at El Paso? The laboratories are working with Spanish speaking problems, so let's start right at home! They could facilitate change by getting people from the groups they're trying to serve. The people should become staffers, or at least consultants.

Agency: This observation parallels my previous statement about the Spanish speaking person not venturing into non-traditional areas. Perhaps – only perhaps – the types of jobs on educational laboratory staffs are not necessarily suited to available Spanish speaking persons. Or perhaps you don't look hard enough for qualified ethnic persons. If they are available, you should *seek* them. SWCEL is low ethnically.

Petty: SWCEL *is* low in ethnic employment. Maybe we haven't looked hard enough. We'd like to have more Mexican American, Negro and Indian people available for these positions.

Agency: Minority people probably don't know about new groups such as the laboratories. This fact would limit their applications. Various schools in northern New Mexico tell me they recently have begun to hear of Southwestern Cooperative Educational Laboratory's Newsletter [1966 to present] which they receive. You need more direct relationships, such as a staffer calling on predominantly Spanish schools. Our agency ran an informal survey, directing questions to county superintendents of Northern New Mexico schools. The response about SWCEL's activities was good from Albuquerque and south. In northern New Mexico, replies showed that SWCEL's activities were unknown beyond its newsletter.

Conclusion

Chairman: This conference seems to be pleading for some kind of specialized education that would cherish cultural differences. You seem to want discriminatory (economic, etc.) factors removed, but not necessarily a separate educational system.

NAACP: Negroes want the elimination of segregation and the integration of faculties, administrative staff and pupils. We want a higher educational standard based on the belief that children can learn. It's the *school's* responsibility to teach them.

Agency: This would be different from a special program which would identify an ethnic group.
Cherokee: Cherokees do not advocate a special program, but perhaps special methods.
COSAW: In terms of job opportunities, every effort must be made with the federal government and private industry to assist in establishing an expanded industrial base in the Southwest. Maybe I'm being a little too idealistic, but there must be some businessmen who would be willing to locate in Spanish type towns like Espanola rather than in a city like Los Angeles.

All religious denominations, government agencies, and industrial organizations should review their current employment and promotional practices to utilize minority groups.

My last suggestion is to hold seminars locally. These seminars would inform community leaders, pastors, priests and school officials about federal and state programs available to the minority groups. This knowledge would enable a needy person to be referred to the right agency.
Pueblo: The Pueblo Indian villages need library-study centers. The Pueblo students need an intensive program in the high school level to cover deficiencies in English, mathematics, reading etc. The Johnson-O'Malley Fund or the Title III program could hire special teachers to take care of this.

The students need guidance and counseling, since the average Pueblo parents are unable to counsel the students in the problems dealing with American education. Unless these ethnic problems are eliminated, the Pueblo student cannot aspire to be a lawyer, scientist, medical doctor or physicist.
NAACP: Parents too should participate outside the usual educational channels. Instead of merely the old type Parent-Teacher Association meetings, parents should have a part in the curriculum to be taught. They should participate in changes, programs needed, how Title I money should be spent, – real decision making. This would change the old method, which is merely rubberstamping approval of programs devised by administrators or teachers.

Specifically, what kind of organization do we recommend? An informal organization. Negro parents demand participation in choosing textbooks, courses and other decisions about the education of their children. Tying in with the concept of accountability, they want to decide on employment of principals and teachers for their areas.
Navajo: It is recommended that education facilities be multiplied with all deliberate speed, to arise right on our Navajo reservation – courses be introduced in Navajo schools to teach the indigenous language, culture, and history. Previous attempts at curriculum modification in this respect have met with success (Compare Platero 1968.) More Indian students would benefit by this concept.
Agency: We are criticizing the *established* educational system, such as boards of education. The educational laboratories seek to innovate change. You stimulate conditions and methodologies to bring about desired change. Therefore we are not necessarily critizing the new laboratory system.
Chairman: Some very significant reports and pleas have come out of this meeting. We have long needed to air these problems. Educational media will be interested in learning each of your group's viewpoints, since you leaders have formulated them yourselves.

CHAPTER III: DISCUSSION

As we can see from the proceedings, while the ethnic minorities know the trouble they are in, they do not necessarily perceive practical, implementable solutions.

In fact the conference brought out some apparently insoluble ambivalences:

1. The simultaneous desires to (1) educate the child so that he can make a living in the modern-day world and (2) keep him within the ethnic cultural fold. The first viewpoint, carried to its ultimate logic, would be that of the Melting Pot. The second viewpoint would foster diversity as cultural pluralism or polyethnicity.

Thus, the representatives (presumably acting as parents of their respective ethnic groups) could argue that their children should receive more and better education in fields such as science. At the same time, however, they want the child to retain his belief in the traditional cultural system which may not make allowances for such Western concepts as science.

2. The simultaneous (1) fear of formally organized political action groups and (2) resentment at not having political power.

Of course, these ambivalences are not the same for all of the groups, but they are indicative of some of the problems faced by ethnic minorities in the larger Anglo-oriented culture. A discussion of these and other problems follows.

Anglo economic vs. traditional culture

Although their children may gain a sounder economic future from the school, we often hear the cry that they are being "brainwashed" out of their heritage. The parents resent the behavioral science techniques (without knowing them too precisely) whereby their children are "tricked" into Anglo ways. Since this theme recurs, and since the same feeling appears in many other groups beyond this one-day conference, it will be useful to have a term to express it, and I propose "psycho-colonialism."

We may understand this problem better by studying it through the eyes of a "Third World" viewer: One of the recent matters causing panic among the Yankees was the "brainwashing" administered to its soldiers who were captured by the Communists during the Korean War. Yet many parts of such brainwashing, such as placing the Yankees in small platoons directed by the more leftist of the group, are normal ways in Communist education. In other words, it is not at all clear the Communists were trying to "harm" the prisoners; rather, it is suggested that they were merely trying to apply their own traditional methods of indoctrination.

If this brainwashing inflamed the American public, then why should it not understand that the similar technique of imposing Yankee methods on non-Yankee students is really brainwashing also? For example, to require the group oriented Amerindians to be called on individually is just as "discombobulating" to them as to force the individual Yankees to react as platoons.

This problem of coerced assimilation forces us to consider a basic question: What are to be the goals of transcultural education? Sol Tax has stated the problem carefully:

> We in the United States must now ask whose culture is to be transmitted. Is the dominant white, middle-class culture to be transmitted to Indian tribes, or to people with Spanish surnames as they are now euphemistically defined? . . . If it is to be our dominant white culture, some serious problems arise.
>
> First, let me point out that nobody has seriously raised this question. Occasionally I have tried to do so in a conference and the response is, "Well, they have to get along in our society; what do you want to do, preserve some culture which forbids them a proper economic and social adjustment to the larger milieu?" My only answer can be ... the ... alternative ... cultural pluralism .... However, these cannot be seriously considered until those minority groups achieve sufficient equality to make their own demands for individuality; that is, until they achieve enough "power" . . . to be able to make their own wishes felt as to what they want to become.
>
> The evils of paternalism and the habit of doing things topeople against their will for their own good is not only a propensity of colonial governments insistent on civilizing the heathen, but also a habit of parents and teachers. (Tax 1968:7).

Unfortunately the crisis worsens as our culture becomes more specialized and more "Angloized" with each triumph of its technology. The result is a rapidly increasing centralization and Yankeefication of the school system. The ethnic minority sinks into an ever deepening cleavage between the so-called backwardness of his traditional way and the frighteningly dehumanized and evanescent majority way. Thus, commenting on educational policy toward Amerindians as revealed by the Coleman Report, Dr. B. Gaarder of the U. S. Office of Education declared that its results have been:

> ... failure far beyond the mere school statistics of retardation, under-achievement and dropouts .... The constant effort to eliminate the differences (between Indian and non-Indian), forcing each child, in greater or lesser degree to choose between his own people and the outside world, is nothing less than attempted assimilation by alienation.
>
> If it is true that society as a whole – in this case each separate tribal society with its own history, language and system of beliefs and behavior – is inescapably the major shaper and educator of a child ... educational policy should seek to strengthen and develop and ennoble the social structure. The opposite strategy, efforts to weaken or bypass the Indian social structures and lessen its influence on the child, inevitably deprives him of his main source of growth and strength. Instead, he recommends bilingual education and Amerindian participation in running the schools wherever possible. (Gaarder, quoted in Smith 1968:27).

As we saw from the conferees' remarks, they had no clearer answer to the problem of assimilation versus poly-ethnicity.

U. S. segregationists have demanded "separate but equal" treatment for Negroes. In many respects, the conferees ask for a converse but also segregationist approach: together but unequal. That is, several of the delegates simultaneously seek physical intermingling of minority ethnic group members and Anglos in the same classrooms, yet want their children to emerge with ethnic heritage and ethnic language in addition to all the Angloisms.

A related paradox appears in the NAACP's desire that local (i.e., Negro) groups control the (urban ghetto) schools where they are a majority, but its simultaneous desire that local (i.e., white segregationist) groups not control the (Southern) schools where *they* constitute a majority.

One possible resolution of the seeming contradiction might be an argument that the control must include tolerance rather than suppression of whichever group is the minority. It

might be possible to accomplish this by scheduling that intermingles the ethnic children with the (Anglo) majority children for classes such as music and separating them for other activities, teaching both English as a first language and English as a second language. The scheduling could be based on the approach sometimes called "Released Time."

In it, a child of a specified group is allowed to leave a general school activity in order to attend an ethnic-type activity conducted under formal approval. Thus, a Catholic child, with written parental consent, may leave a certain study hall for an hour a day, a certain number of days every week, to cross the street to a Catholic school in which he studies Catholicism.

While such enrichment is a form of a segregation, it is both proposed by the minority, and (since it occupies only a part of each day) enabling of an overall greater integration.

If no, or virtually no, money were required for it, existing laws allowing religious released time might suffice for such ethnic released time. And for the remainder of the day, the integration with Anglo students and their equipment would provide the mainstream opportunity that several of the more ambivalent leaders say they want.

Another means of arriving at the goal is for ethnic parents to become more vigorously involved with the schools and school problems, as well as with the community at large. They need to identify, preserve and disseminate information about their cultural heritage.* Many parents need to display their behavioral patterns if they expect others to have a good image of them. This is essential for their children's self-respect, especially. Parents should cooperate with teachers and other interested people or organizations interested in learning about their problems.

Organization and Power

To judge from the organizations represented, cooperation among ethnic groups is presently slight. Spanish Americans and the Negroes seem to feel they have rather similar problems, whereas those of the Amerindians are more often considered different. Although sympathy is felt among the various goals of all the minorities, no clear sign is seen for their quick coordination unless strong external pressures force it. Events of the past few years have indeed generated organized Negro militancy ("Black Power"), and similar feelings among Amerindians ("Red Power") and Spanish speakers ("Brown Power"). Yet there are only slight signs of inter-ethnic cooperation toward the goal of polyethnicity – a movement that we might term "Rainbow Power."

The problems of cooperative political action are explained by Madsen (1964:18-19):

> The obligations and loyalty involved in affiliation with formal organizations are regarded [by South Texas Mexican Americans] as a threat to the self-reliance of the individual and the self-sufficiency of his family. Union civic organizations and mutual aid societies constantly meet with failure.

Consequently, in spite of a certain feeling of powerlessness toward the school structure, we find (except perhaps from the NAACP delegate) no clearcut call for a definite program of local control.

Just such a plan has, of course, been pressured by several Negro groups in New York city, and resulted in the recent Bundy Report, which recommended that in its public schools:

> From 30 to no more than 60 Community school districts should be created ranging from size about 12,000 to 40,000 pupils – large enough to offer a full range of educational services and yet small enough to promote administrative flexibility and proximity to community needs and diversity. (New York 1967:iii).

Just as the Melting Pot analogy uses heat to procrusteanize the ethics to an All-American type, so structuralism uses closely prescribed behaviors to create the same effect. But the delegates say little about the tight structure of behavioristic psychology.

In many cases, the ethnics, especially Negroes, are presently segregated in schools. To overcome such segregation, compromise would seem necessary from both sides. Principally, the dominant Anglos would have to accept and facilitate the integration of schooling; this may well be a power struggle, hence is beyond further discussion in the present report.

Economics and Vocations

Virtually all the conferees (except perhaps the representative of NAACP) assume that the Anglo society wishes to bring them into the economic as well as the cultural mainstream. But social science may not accept that viewpoint. It may argue that complex societies, almost by definition, require classes, and that a class structure can most readily be maintained when the social ideology is reinforced by visible and ineradicable differences such as skin color. At least the first part of this argument has been neatly summarized by Gans:

> If the functionalist approach is valid, one must argue that poverty persists because it has positive functions for at least some parts of American society. Although it may sound heartless to even suggest that poverty has positive functions, a dispassionate analysis will suggest a number of such functions. For example, the availability of a pool of poor people assures recruits for the dirty and unstable jobs of the society. The poor also provide instances of deviance that serve to uphold the negative example, the norms of the affluent population. Insofar as the poor are, or are imagined to be, more deviant than the [norm], they can be evaluated as undeserving, and thus to justify the existing class structure and division of spoils (1968:49-50).

The fundamental question therefore becomes: How can the cycle be broken? Who will bell the cat?

It is interesting that, generally speaking, the ethnic leaders themselves seek to carve niches within existing Anglo prestige areas. Only in the rare times when they talk of vocational training do they consider entering areas not properly covered by the Anglos such as vocational crafts and the arts (both fine and popular).

A basic question is: Should minority ethnic group members aim at the same sorts of employment as the majority? The concept of the melting pot suggest so. Yet, as the anthropologist studies interactions between human groups, he suspects that specialization is a safer and more probable outcome. The set of ecological findings called Gause's Principle or the Competitive Exclusion Principle may apply: "In a finite world it is impossible for species that are competitive *in every respect* to coexist indefinitely" (Hardin 1959: 83; italics added; cf. 87). Without attempting a

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* SWCEL has begun to design such lessons (Burger 1969a).

definitive application, we may find that such ethnic specialization, short of segregation of course, may be inescapable and creative (Burger 1968:95-97).

Therefore, the emphasis of the government on expanding ethnic-minority entrepreneurship rather than (say) arts may be wrong because many anthropological studies suggest that entrepreneurship is itself an ethnic specialty of certain groups like Anglos. (Barth 1967:664)

The ethno-centricism of Yankees

Delegates felt that a large part of school achievement is based on the "self-image" of a child and that this can be damaged or destroyed by classmates and teachers who are ignorant or scornful of their cultural values and contributions.

Teachers do not understand the adjustment problems of minority ethnic group children to classroom situations. There is little communication between the teacher and the parents: the parents rarely visit the school except when they come to the teacher or administrator when upset about some serious problem. In turn, the teacher rarely familiarizes himself with the actual home situation of the pupil. This results in severe misunderstandings, such as schoolwork assignments the pupil finds impossible to carry out in his normal home environment, or which have little practical relationship to his home life.

The speakers idealistically propose that teachers receive more training, more visits to homes, more supervision. Yet they propose no way to pay for it.

The majority of textbooks contain almost nothing about the character of ethnic cultures prior to the coming of the white man. Rural schools have little available in audio-visual and library materials to make minority history and culture vivid and intriguing to all students. It is desirable for the entire educational structure to be aware that, though basic differences exist between Anglo and non-Anglo cultures, these are not necessarily bad, but can be used to make human interaction more meaningful and successful for all children.

Aloofness by the social scientist

Nor are anthropologists necessarily more practical. Many of us are content to analyze an unusual prayer stick from Acoma Pueblo (cf. the criticism by White 1965:631). And hundreds of pages of scholarly exegesis appear on such problems as whether the Purum of India really prescribe matrilineal cross-cousin marriage. As the evidence mounts, it becomes vaguer; only incidentally does the reader discover that the entire culture numbers only 303 souls! Finally, in a recent review, Harris (1968:508) found that "all the uses for which the Purum case is intended are defeated."

By carefully selecting petty problems and then applying abstruse methods to their study, the behavioral sciences have been extremely successful in enthroning triviality. Thus, a recent issue (February 1968) of the *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* devoted six pages to "Rated Pleasantness and Association Value of 101 English Nouns." Since the language contains many thousands of nouns, both authors and readers are assured of the opportunity for hundreds of similar pleasant studies.

Such avoidance of social and ethnic problems cannot continue much longer. It is high time, then, to listen to viewpoints not common to the ever-centralizing, ever-standardizing U. S. system.

It is time to find out in what direction the minority groups themselves wish to go and avoid mistakes like this:

> The need for outsiders to consult any group before imposing structures onto them has been shown repeatedly, but seems never quite to be learned by Euroamericans. To give but one of the hundreds of possible examples, we note that in a Dakota/Minnesota program for Amerindians the natives kept expressing the need for job opportunities for adult heads of families, whereas the U. S. Government program instead produced a new and handsome Old Peoples Home. The government of course won in its plans, but no old people today are living in the home! (Wax and Wax 1968:5).

Indeed, Steiner (1968:254) has argued that the U. S. Bureau of Indian Affairs plays the identical role to the British Colonial Office, hence deserves the name of "Colonial Office."

The solution

The logical solution may be local – here ethnic – control.

The concept of decentralization and localization of government is so essential to Anglos that we find its mention even in the pre-republic Declaration of Independence of 1776. There, the British King George III was declared a deposed despot for, among other things, "suspending our own Legislatures and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us ..." Out of such fear of alien control grew the principle of local people setting both the content and the personnel of their education. The "good people" (i.e., upper middle-class) of Winnetka, Illinois, for example, were to decide the rules and the operations of their suburb, with minimal interference from the state and national capitals.

In such an ethos, it comes as a shock to "the good people" (mostly WASPs) to hear that *they* are now the remote imperialists. The ethnic minorities thus reveal their alienation from Yankeeism, as well as their belief that they need a different curriculum, personnel etc.

An example of "restructuring" and implementing local control may be seen in a situation of a famous Amerindian school of the Southwest. At the request of a congressional committee, a visiting team made a brief analysis of its operations. Confidential interviews with students revealed they were pressured to attend Protestant or Catholic services during their rare free time; they were never served native food although even the cooks were of the same ethnic background and dozens of similar imperialisms. The recommendations made by the committee included only specific ad-hoc solutions, such as serving fried bread. Later, however, the proposal suggested that members of the ethnic group in question form a School Advisory Board. Without such restructuring of power, the dominant Anglos would not even perceive *when* they were being ethnocentric. On the other hand, the recommendations of the natives would automatically correspond to those of their compatriots in matters of churching, feeding etc.

This ethnocentrism persists: For example, a recent report quoted the principal of an El Paso, Texas, high school as saying that the use of Spanish language is prohibited in classrooms other than those in which it is being taught and that "everything short of corporal punishment should be done to see that students speak English." (Associated Press 1968:A-8).

Such forcible suppression is not limited to La Raza:

> Of 170 students in a Cherokee school, 43% reported that they had been whipped. This situation is particularly unfortunate since the Cherokee have a strong cultural value disapproving of physical violence (Dickeman 1968?:38, 40).

It is, then, such paradoxes as suppression amidst the explosion of knowledge that trouble the ethnic representatives who addressed the laboratory's conference.

CHAPTER IV: SUMMARY

In sum, we do finally hear representatives of all major Southwestern ethnic minorities speak their desires on education. We see no great insight into the sociological and cultural factors that may be underlying the present woes. We see only mild stirrings of possible organizational channels to effect their desires.

But events affecting schooling and ethnicity are occurring more rapidly each day. Hence the ethnic disorganization presently reported may be less important in the long run than the goals herein advocated by the cultural leaders. Since SWCEL and the other laboratories were created to improve education, especially of the disadvantaged, no attempt was made at this conference to create a new permanent organization to effectuate its recommendations. Only time will tell the wisdom of that approach.

The reader may argue that the present conference merely calls attention to troubles, and does not effectuate any changes. Could not the energy have better been used to administer and implement the desired goals?

For instance, at one time a large U.S. philanthropic foundation wished to promote birth control. On investigating the problem, it found that the public was not ready for such promotion. Consequently, the foundation funded studies that revealed the *need* for birth control — it simply funded studies of population statistics, to which hardly anyone could object. Then, when the figures were in, they "proved to be shocking." They were duly publicized, and justified the ever deeper study of that foundation and the problem of fertility, economic resources, and other problems.

Another function of the conference was to sensitize academe to ethnics' opinions. Since the conference was mainly closed to outsiders, it is the purpose of the present report to carry those frank opinions. This must, then, be a progress report on a rising problem. It is not a conclusive report on a solved issue!

APPENDIX I

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY PERSONS 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER OF SELECTED ETHNIC GROUPS, BY SEX, 1960, FOR ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, COLORADO, NEW MEXICO AND TEXAS

Years of school completed and sex	White		Negro	Amerindian
	Non-Spanish surname	Spanish surname		
Male,				
14 years old and over	8,136,323	1,056,904	679,627	55,913
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed	0.9	11.2	3.7	17.8
Elementary:				
1 to 4 years	3.2	17.4	13.0	13.6
5 and 6 years	4.6	13.0	11.4	12.2
7 years	5.3	7.7	8.6	7.4
8 years	13.4	12.8	12.2	12.7
High school:				
1 to 3 years	23.9	19.8	25.4	21.2
4 years	24.4	11.4	16.1	11.1
College:				
1 to 3 years	13.3	4.5	6.7	2.9
4 years or more	11.0	2.3	2.8	1.1
Median school years completed	11.8	8.1	9.1	7.9
Female,				
14 years old and over	8,446,355	1,027,276	726,520	55,050
Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No school years completed	0.8	10.7	2.5	22.5
Elementary:				
1 to 4 years	2.4	16.0	9.2	11.0
5 and 6 years	3.9	13.6	10.3	11.6
7 years	4.4	7.5	8.5	7.6
8 years	12.6	13.0	12.7	12.0
High school:				
1 to 3 years	24.7	20.4	27.5	19.8
4 years	31.2	14.2	18.7	11.7
College:				
1 to 3 years	13.0	3.2	7.1	2.7
4 years or more	7.0	1.3	3.6	1.0
Median school years completed	12.0	8.2	9.7	7.6

Original Source: U. S. Census of Population: 1960, Vol. 1, *Characteristics of the Population* for states; *Subject Reports, Persons of Spanish Surname,* PC(2)-1B: and *Nonwhite Population by Race,* PC(2)-1C. As synthesized in U. S. Commerce (1968:Table C).

APPENDIX II

Structural Differences Underlying Ethnic-Education Problems

As noted in Chapter I, inter-cultural impact alone does explain the differentiated effect as illustrated by the gap in academic attainment that was noted there. For some impacting cultures are flexible. Their accommodation is often revealed in the formal training of youngsters.

But the contact of Yankee culture with ethnic minorities has often been disruptive. To understand this fact and how it justifies the calls for "restructuring" voiced by some delegates, we must study ethnic structures more deeply.

The ethnic minorities of the Southwest have endured a large number of confrontations with the majority ethnicity. These confrontations have ranged from economic rivalry to armed conflict. As a result, their populations have been in great flux. While exact population figures during the periods of conquest and expansion are very difficult to obtain, there is no doubt that a considerable decrease was suffered by the groups that are today ethnic minorities. Such conquests, often within the span of a single generation, produce strong trauma. As Forbes (1967?:vii) said about the Amerindians of California, this sort of psycho-social hardship "is especially true when the survivors are forced for several additional generations to live as members of a legally inferior class."

The fact that these ethnic minorities are rapidly reproducing today signifies several things to us: First, they have great staying power and courage; secondly, the majority ethnicity has foreseen it has a human responsibility to the minorities; thirdly, situations such as land transfer have become settled somewhat.

And these ethnic groups have indeed preserved their heritages. Despite continuing pressures to become assimilated into the Anglo mainstream, in some sectors at least, they have continued to cherish and preserve their legacies.

Since the Anglo society exerts such pressure on minorities, it is fair to ask what the values and behaviors of that dominant society are. Those values and behaviors are reflected in energy allotments, and we must assume that their energies are allotted by due deliberation. Hence the discipline of economics enables us to scan these proportionate expenditures to form our opinion of how "universal" is Yankeeism. We find such contrasts as the following in the Yankee expenditures, both public and private.

Because the United States is active throughout the world, approximately 70 percent of the national budget now goes to defense. In the years 1960-67, $2 billion was spent on community development and housing; $27 billion on space; $384 billion on war. The entire school lunch program, feeding 14 million children, costs only as much as 14 equipped B-52 bombers. The poverty program draws on only one-fifth of one percent of the gross national product. Overall, the shift is impressive: According to Melman (1965:116-117), the percent of federal expenditures devoted to human welfare as a portion of the entire U.S. budget has decreased from 42% in fiscal 1939 to just 7% in fiscal 1965! Here, then, is the real Yankee behavior.

A further gap appears as we try to correlate from natural to social science. In typical fiscal year 1966, the U. S. Government obligated science research funds as follows:

Type of Science	Basic Research	Applied Research
Social Sciences	2.1%	2.9%
Natural Sciences	97.9	97.1

(Miller 1967:160)

Restlessness Rising Among Industrialism's Minorities

The continuing U.S. emphasis on physicialism gives higher priority to the prolongation of the life of the aged than to social meaningfulness of the young and middle-aged. When mere medication is given to those rural people becoming more urbanized (as is the case with many ethnic minorities) their relative backwardness in artificial birth control combines to produce a population explosion. The Navajos, for example, now are increasing three times as fast in population as the rest of the U. S. population.

Besides medical "physicalism," the economics of the United States is changing rapidly via automation which displaces rural and city workers. About two-thirds of the lowest Negro income group "are making no significant economic gains despite continued general prosperity" (U. S. National Advisory Committee 1968:123).

In the face of such selective changes, the educational system sits caught. Its economic base, principally local taxation, becomes unworkable as demography and knowledge become more flexible: "Inter-state migrations to cities like Los Angeles place impossible burdens on local tax sources. The Mexican American gets a thinner slice of a smaller pie year after year . . . so the Federal Government must . . . spread the base" (Nava 1967:97).

The result of paradoxes like this one is cultural unrest, dissatisfaction, violence. An entire society may decline amidst material splendor. Arnold Toynbee attributes such declines to a somewhat fated loss of religious fervor that permeates the culture; 25 of 26 civilizations, he declared, have already broken down. At any rate, the nature of the collapses is always "a loss of creative power in the souls of the uncreative masses . . ." The government then must resort to coercion, whereupon "the followers . . . will be stung by a touch of the whip into active rebellion" (Toynbee 1959:245-46).

At least some of these symptoms appear in cross-cultural education. The U. S. pressures toward the conformity of industrialism, which especially threaten the ethnic minorities and are now intensifying with computerization, are discussed in their potential effects on education elsewhere (Burger 1968:Chapter IX).

It is clear that the constant materialistic teasing of the mass media, within a somewhat rigid anti-ethnic structure that characterizes some part of the Anglo system, is producing an intolerable ambivalence. Anthropology finds that similar frustration in other parts of the world often causes the emergence of a group movement that destroys present capital in favor of awaiting magical produce without labor, a "cargo cult." Many are the resemblances to recent slum riots of destruction (Burger 1968:56).

While such disparities in education and status might once have persisted without friction, today new pressures are making them untenable. News media bombard all classes with knowledge of the other groups; thus, television, with its tantalizing scenes of

the affluent society, is beamed into a full 95% of low-income homes in New York City. (U. S. National Advisory Commissior 1968:139).

The correlations between Negro education and 1967 Negro rioting are discussed in U. S. A. National Advisory Commissior (1968:236-52). Restlessness, more potential than actual, among La Raza is reported concerning Tijerina's Alianza movement ir Swadesh (1968). The broader sweep of Mexican American restlessness is reported, though with little documentation, in Romanc (1968).

These, then, are some of the underlying and interconnecting factors in the problem of ethnic education.

APPENDIX III

Selection Procedures

The ethnic groups

The Laboratory is funded for the purpose of improving education in the Southwestern United States, particularly as it relates to inter-cultural educational problems. The Southwest has a large membership of ethnic and cultural minorities, principally Spanish-speaking, American Indian and Negro. Each cultural group perceives its goals and needs in its own terms. Therefore, the Laboratory feels an obligation to learn the needs and aspirations of these various ethnic groups toward the education of their children, expressed by leaders of these various cultural groups.

The logical "insiders" to invite would be those Southwestern groups that feel most culturally alienated from the dominant Anglos.

Since the cultures of the several Amerindian groups and of Spanish-speakers are different from that of the majority, they were at the top of the list. But a question did arise about Negroes: To what extent should a conference on the education of "ethnic minorities" apply to them?

Some social scientists consider American Negroes as a *social class within* United States culture. Others, and more recently certain militant Negro groups, consider that some or all Negroes should not or do not have cultural affinity with Anglos. Rather, they should be either culturally distinct, or related to the African or Muslim, and hence be considered a separate ethnic group. But, since Negroes speak English, they are sometimes considered (by Hispanic and other groups) as being more Anglo than an ethnic minority.

We take no position on these viewpoints, probably all of which are true under certain conditions. Instead, we simply note that in fact the educational attainment of American Negroes, for a complex of reasons, is significantly less than that of Anglos. Consequently, an educational laboratory operating in a region which includes at least 100,000 Negroes must consider the sociological and cultural factors involved.

These three groups – Spanish-speaking, Amerindian and Negroes – were thus defined as major ethnic groups of the Southwest. A future meeting along these lines might include a representative of one group that is very close to Anglo in some ways, yet in others might be considered a separate ethnic group, such as the Mormons. Our impressions at present, however, is that the Mormons feel themselves far more integrated into U.S. folkways than do the more clearly "ethnic" groups we invited, such as the rarer but more exotic Pueblo Amerindians.

Selection of Organizations

Our first consideration was to strike a balance between two types of representation: ethnic group-equal, and population-equal. Had we selected the first system, we would have given as much voice to the 30,000 Pueblos as to the several million Spanish-speakers. Had we selected the second system, we would either have had to invite almost 100 Spanish leaders to compensate for the one Pueblo – or neglected the latter entirely.

A compromise was called for. Therefore, we invited one delegate per approximately one-third million Southwestern population – but at least one delegate from every Southwestern ethnic group. This produced four from the Spanish-speakers, one from the Negro, and one from each of three Amerindian cultures: Navajo, Cherokee and Pueblo.

In selecting the organizations actually invited, we spoke with representatives of several ethnic minorities to rank the familiarity and status of each.

Because the ethnic groups themselves are factional, the question arose as to which faction to invite. Little problem was posed for La Raza, since statistics permitted us to invite four groups, hence four viewpoints. In each of the other groups, however, we could justifiably invite only one representative. Consequently, we tended to invite the "obvious," or "official" organizations, usually the older or better known group.

An illustration of our decision, and a note to the reader that the choice is not necessarily representative of the entire ethnic group, concerns the Cherokee Amerindians. A full discussion of the viewpoint of Cherokee factions, such as the Five County Cherokee Movement, appears in Steiner (1968:12-13), and in the occasional periodical *Cherokee Report* (ca. 1968). Also, the difference between the legal government and the native groups, between the mixed bloods and the full bloods, respectively, have been discussed by such scholars as Murray Wax (1968:22, 29, *et passim*). It seemed wisest to invite the "official" group.

The dynamics of group size was one but not the only factor that caused the Laboratory to avoid several of the small, highly militant groups. While it is true that extremist groups usually enunciate goals more clearly than the middle mass; the social sciences, and particularly ethnography, are more concerned with the average opinion than with that of the intellectual or activist elite. Furthermore, such groups tend to be more concerned with political action than with educational goals, and it is the latter which were the focus of this conference. Hence this conference did not invite some of the obvious but probably small populated groups, such as the Alianza, the Black Muslims and Black Panthers. Readers wishing more details of their views should consult references cited, especially under Swadesh (for the Alianza) and Lincoln (for Black Muslims).

After the invitations were out, it was found that one Spanish speaking group was an organization that burgeons only at election time when it is funded by existing political parites. By contrast, one of the groups attending the conference, COSAW, was not originally invited; however, it had heard of our plans and presented a convincing case that its long-standing interest in ethnic education merited its participation.

In contrast, some groups needed to be reassured that we were not simply another organization bent upon "Yankeefying" them and that they would truly get an opportunity to air their views. Eventually, however, *every group we invited agreed to send a representative.*

The Laboratory repaid each organization for its transportation, housing, and a speaker's consulting fee.

Selection of Individuals

The Laboratory sought to have representatives express indigenous views, and not merely to mouth any preconceived views it might have. Therefore, to avoid the possibility of "Uncle Tomism," we always went through the national headquarters of each association and asked the association to select its own representative – whomever it might wish, whether or not he resided in the Southwest. It was asked only that the person they chose be familiar with Southwestern problems.

All chosen were able to attend the conference with two changes. LULAC was uncertain as to whether its national delegate, Mr. Rivera, could attend, hence delegated a local man, Mr. Martinez, as an alternate. Mr. Rivera did arrive just in time, however, so the local alternate was encouraged additionally to come and address the group at the end of the formal proceedings, which he did. His comments appear in this report. The Navajo representative was unable to come, but fortunately the laboratory was later able to secure the comments of the (Navajo) director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, one of the most famous ethnic schools in the U.S.

The biographies of all represented organizations and their delegates follow.

APPENDIX IV

Biographies of Organizations and Participants*

Chairman Edward Dozier, professor of anthropology and linguistics at the University of Arizona, Tucson, was born on the Santa Clara Indian Pueblo in New Mexico. He received both his B.A. and M.A. at the University of New Mexico, with majors in biology, history and anthropology. His field work was done among the Rio Grande Pueblos, the Hopi and the Navajos.

Following receipt of his PhD in anthropology and linguistics from the University of California at Los Angeles in 1952, Dr. Dozier taught at Northwestern University in Evanston, Ill. He has also taught at the University of Oregon and Stanford University. Before accepting the post at the University of Arizona, Dr. Dozier spent two years in the Philippine Islands on a National Science Foundation Senior Postdoctoral Fellowship.

Dr. Dozier's published works include three books: *Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona; Mountain Arbiters – the Changing Life of a Philippine Hill People* and *The Kalinga of Northern Luzon, Philippines.* He has also published dozens of scholarly articles.

American GI Forum (621 Gabaldon Drive NW, Albuquerque, NM)

Organized in 1948, the American GI Forum is primarily a veterans' organization active in promoting the general welfare of Spanish speaking people. It has opposed the importation of agricultural laborers from Mexico on the grounds that such importation tends to depress wages and living conditions of domestic migrant labor. Although the organization is forbidden by its constitution to endorse any party or candidate for public office, it does take an interest in government.

The GI Forum has opposed the segregation of Spanish-speaking children in the schools and it has petitioned the schools for pre-school work in teaching English to Spanish-speaking children before entering the first grade. It encourages back-to-school drives and attempts to get migrant families to let their children stay at home to attend school through the entire year. The Forum sponsors scholarships, particularly to help high school students remain in school, and is interested in the teaching of Spanish as a means of improving group relations.

James A. Baca

Representing the GI Forum at the conference was *James Baca,* Alameda, N.M., a teacher at the Roosevelt Elementary School. Born in Pena Blanca, N.M., in 1923, Baca received his B.S. Degree from Regis College, Colorado in 1949 and has done graduate work at the University of New Mexico and the Georgetown Law School.

In his 13 years of teaching, Baca has taught at Espanola Junior High School and the Bernalillo High School. He also served as the principal at the Pena Blanca Public School.

Baca has been chairman of both the Albuquerque GI Forum No. 1 nd the New Mexico State GI Forum.

Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma (Tahlequah, Okla. 74464)

The reader is referred to Appendix III for information about the Cherokee Nation and its several groups since no additional data were officially supplied.

Ralph F. Keen

Speaking for the Cherokee Nation was *Ralph F. Keen,* the General Business Manager of the official group. Born in 1934 in Hominy, Okla., Keen received his B.A. in 1963 following a college career at Northeastern State College in Tahlequah, Okla., interrupted by three years in the Air Force.

Prior to taking his present position, Keen had been the director of the Bureau of Indian Services at the University of Utah at Salt Lake City. He has also worked with the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and the Baldwin Public Schools in Baldwin, Kan.

Council on Spanish American Work (c/o Rev. Mardy L. Olivas, President; Plaza Community Center, 648 South Indiana St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90023).

Established in 1912 in Albuquerque, COSAW was originally a fellowship of District Superintendents of Home Mission Boards. Gradually, it became an inclusive fellowship of Christian workers among Spanish-speaking people.

Bilingual, bicultural, multi-denominational and international, COSAW promotes programs of Christian education, social action and youth activities. It is responsible for the bilingual magazine *Nueva Senda* and a book entitled: *The Spanish Speaking People in the Southwest.*

Dale Robinson

Attending the conference on behalf of COSAW was *Dale Robinson,* general business manager at the McCurdy School in Espanola, N.M. Holder of B.S. degrees from both Indiana Central College and Illinois State University, Robinson is the treasurer of COSAW.

Robinson has been the superintendent of McCurdy School, admission officer at Indiana Central and a guidance counselor and mathematics teacher at the secondary level. He is a member of the National Education Association and the New Mexico Education Association.

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* Based on information supplied by those organizations and individuals. Organizational names and addresses change frequently, but may be traced through such directories as *Encyclopedia of Associations.*

Interagency Committee on Mexican American Affairs (1800 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20506)

In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson established the IAC-MAA "to assure that Federal programs are reaching the Mexican Americans and providing the assistance that they need, and to seek out new programs that may be necessary to handle problems unique to the Mexican American community." Thus, the IAC-MAA serves as the liaison between the Spanish surnamed communities of the nation and the Federal government.

Members of the committee include the Secretaries of Agriculture; Labor; Commerce; Health, Education and Welfare; and Housing and Urban Development, plus the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. Chairman of the Committee at the time of this conference was Vicente Ximenes, a member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Albert Raymond Cruz

Representing the IAC-MAA was *Albert Raymond Cruz,* manpower analyst for the U.S. Department of Labor in Washington. Cruz was born in Mora, N.M. in 1933 and holds a B.A. in psychology and an M.S. in clinical psychology from New Mexico Highlands. He has also done graduate work at George Washington University.

Prior to joining the Department of Labor in 1962, Cruz served as a school psychologist for the District of Columbia Schools in Washington. He has served as consultant to the IAC-MAA in educational, manpower and related areas and to the USAID on Latin America. He is a member of the Mexican American Coordinating Committee in the U.S. Department of Labor.

League of United Latin American Citizens (c/o Roberto Ornelas, 411 North Agard, Dallas, Texas)

A national organization, LULAC was organized in 1929 in Corpus Christi, Texas. It has a representative council in every U.S. city where Mexican Americans are concentrated in large numbers.

LULAC encourages the education of pre-school children so they may start on an even level with other children. It provides scholarships to worthy students, works with the adult providing adult basic education and citizenship classes, and sponsors many projects. One of its current efforts is Operation SER, Jobs for Progress, Inc., which is striving to serve the area of employment so that each individual may attain a meaningful position within his community.

Polo Rivera

LULAC's national representative at the conference was *Polo Rivera,* center director for the SER-CEP Center in Phoenix, Ariz. He was born in 1926 in Morenci, Ariz. and received his B.A. from Arizona State University. Active in a number of civic affairs, he has been the LULAC state education chairman, and a member of the board of directors of the Arizona Consumer's Council.

Before joining LULAC, Rivera was a neighborhood council supervisor of Operation LEAP, CAA Phoenix. He has also been a recreation leader for the Phoenix Parks and Recreation department and an account salesman for a Spanish radio station in Phoenix.

Ted Martinez

Attending from the Albuquerque chapter of LULAC was *Ted Martinez* an education specialist for the University of New Mexico. Martinez is a former public school teacher and a graduate of UNM. He has served on advisory committees to the New Mexico Building and Construction Trades Council and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. Mr. Martinez has since been elected to the Albuquerque school board.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People 1790 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10019)

Founded in 1909 by a band of 60 persons, the NAACP today has more than 450,000 members in the U.S.

The ultimate goal of the NAACP is the establishment of full and equal rights for Americans of all races in respect to security of the person, voting, housing, treatment in the courts, health facilities, public facilities and accommodations. It is constantly on the alert, combating unfair race practices wherever they occur. Thousands of unpaid officers and members of local units volunteer their services in carrying out the NAACP programs.

June Shagaloff

June Shagaloff, director for education of the NAACP's education program, represented that group at the conference. She directs the NAACP public school desegregation drive in the North and West as well as other programs to end racial discrimination in public education.

A graduate of New York University, Miss Shagaloff has prepared social science materials utilized in the legal attacks on segregation and assisted in the social science research on the harmful psychological and educational effects of racial segregation.

During her nearly 20 years with the NAACP, Miss Shagaloff has worked extensively in communities throughout the country. In 1952, together with other NAACP representatives, she was jailed in Cairo, Ill., during a school desegregation drive. She is a regular contributor to a number of publications, including the *Journal of Negro Education* and the *Journal of Social Issues.*

Rough Rock Demonstration School [Navajo] (Chinle, Ariz. 86503)

Established in 1966, Rough Rock Demonstration is located in the heart of the vast Navajo Reservation. It is operated by a private non-profit corporation whose directors are prominent Navajo leaders.

Rough Rock was born because Indian parents were not satisfied with the educational experiences available to their children on the reservation. It is the result of fortuitious circumstances permitting local control and community involvement. The underlying tenet of the school is that it will attempt to conjoin Navajo and non-Indian cultures, each of which will be accorded equal importance. In this manner, it is believed the students at Rough Rock can secure an education that works for them rather than one that is culturally fragmented, psychologically insecure and linguistically mediocre. The Navajo language is used for instruction in the early years. Culturally oriented materials such as *Coyote Tales, Black Mountain Boy, Grandfather Stories* and *Navajo Education at Rough Rock* have been produced by the school.

Dillon Platero

The director of the Rough Rock Demonstration School, *Dillon Platero,* sent comments afterwards on behalf of the school. Born in 1926 at Canoncito, N.M., he is a member of the Navajo Tribe and speaks fluent Navajo and English.

He was the director of the Navajo Community Development program at Canoncito between 1954 and 1965, when he became field director for community action in Florida, North Carolina, Mississippi and Colorado at Arizona State University's Indian Community action program. He also served as a Navajo Tribal Councilman, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Education Committee and founded and became the first editor of *The Navajo Times.*

He became deputy director of Rough Rock in 1968 and assumed the present post shortly thereafter.

All Indian Pueblo Council (Box 262, Bernalillo, N.M. 87004)

Although it operates under a constitution drawn up in 1965, the All Indian Pueblo Council has antecedents dating to 1598 when 38 leaders met to make a treaty with the Spanish colonizers.

In 1620 the King of Spain issued a Royal Decree requiring each Pueblo to choose officials by popular vote.

Each governor was given a silver-headed cane as a symbol of his commission, and when Mexico won independence from Spain new canes were presented. A third cane was given to the Pueblo governors by Abraham Lincoln in special recognition of their peace loving attitudes.

Today, the authority and commission of governors rest with the men possessing these canes. They are the ones with the votes in the All Indian Pueblo Council – the 19 leaders of the 19 Pueblo Tribes of New Mexico with a total population of 30,000.

The current constitution provides for leadership by a chairman, vice chairman, secretary and treasurer. Members also participate on education, health, legislative and water rights committees.

Joe Sando

Attending the conference from the Council was *Joe Sando,* born in Jemez Pueblo, N.M. Employed by the New Mexico State University, division of cooperative extension service, he is chairman of the Council's education committee. Sando attended the San Diego Mission School in Jemez Pueblo and the Santa Fe Indian School before beginning his college career at Highland University in Las Vegas, N.M. and Eastern New Mexico University in Portales. He received his B.A. in business education and then went on to graduate school at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee, where he majored in audiology.

APPENDIX V

BACKGROUND MUSIC FOR THE CONFERENCE

A 15 minute taping of ethnic music, played sporadically throughout the conference, enlivened discussion.

Eskimo	"Nelikatuk Dance"	0.4 minutes
Negro	"We Shall Overcome"	3.2 minutes
Spanish	"Aye, Aye, Aye"	2.2 minutes
Pueblo	"Old Time Circle Dance"	1.4 minutes
Spanish American	(Classical-folk music from Northern Mexico)	1.4 minutes
Navajo	"Riding Song"	1.4 minutes
Spanish-American popular	"Tijuana Taxi"	2.0 minutes
Negro	Jazz – Duke Ellington	1.0 minutes
Pauses		2.0 minutes

The tape is available in SWCEL's Media Laboratory.

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